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Edited by HAROLD COX

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The Edinburgh Review

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MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND THE DIVORCE COMMISSION.

1. Report, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. Cd. 6478-6482. 1912.
2. Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce. 1853.
3. Laws relating to Marriage in force in certain Foreign Countries. Cd. 5993. 1911.
4. English Church Law and Divorce. By Sir LEWIS DIBDIN and Sir CHARLES E. H. CHADWYCK-HEALEY, K.C.B. Murray. 1912.
5. An Introduction to the History of Divorce. By J. E. G. DE MONTMORENCY. First appendix to the Report of the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. 1912.
6. A History of Matrimonial Institutions. By G. E. HOWARD. Fisher Unwin. 1904.
7. Le Mariage en Droit Canonique. Par A. ESMEIN. 2 vols. Paris. 1891.
8. Histoire des Conciles. Par LE DR. CHARLES-JOSEPH HÉFÉLÉ. 9 vols. Paris. 1869-73.

WE do not propose in this article to associate ourselves in any definite fashion with the findings of either of the Reports that have been issued by the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. We prefer to regard

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each Report as an argument addressed to the great jury of the nation. We desire to consider each argument upon its merits without bias or pre-judgment, and to weigh with equal mind the conflicting facts and subtle pleas set forth by each side in this age-long controversy which affects the very bases of society.

No praise could be too high for the honesty and thoroughness of the investigation that has been conducted by Lord Gorell and the representative Commission over which he presided. That Commission included Lord Guthrie and other distinguished lawyers, a great ecclesiastic who is also a lawyer, an eminent authority upon surgery and medicine, various experienced specialists on social problems, and a leading journalist ; while the peculiar interests of women were fully represented and adequately safeguarded. No less than 246 witnesses appeared before the Commission to present every possible point of view—with one notable exception with which we shall deal later—that could arise in connexion with this melancholy subject. These witnesses, as the bulky volumes of evidence show, were tested and riddled by the cross-examination of some of the keenest of modern minds. The cross-examinations conducted by the Archbishop of York were among the more notable features of these sittings. No living lawyer could have surpassed the force, the fairness and the effectiveness of his analysis. The witnesses represented every branch and every phase of activity of the legal profession at home and abroad in relation to the questions raised by the Commissioners. The various Churches presented the infinite variety of their views in elaborate detail, and the evidence and cross-examination of their spokesmen constitutes an almost unique body of theological learning. Medical and lunacy experts, prison authorities, associations representing every form of effort for the betterment of mankind, placed their painful experience at the disposal of the Commission ; while journalists of note formulated at length their views on the difficult question of the publication of divorce proceedings. A great volume of appendices supplies documents of the most diverse kinds relating to the history, the principles governing, and the practice of divorce. Sir Lewis Dibdin's learned monograph on the famous *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* is the most notable document in this volume, and the separate publication of

this essay was not only desirable but necessary in the interests of history. To quote the Commissioners: 'a full enquiry, 'such as has taken place before us, does not appear to have 'been held at any time previously in this country, nor, so far 'as we are aware, in any other.' The material collected should go far to enable the nation, now or hereafter, to exercise a sound and wholesome judgment with respect to the social diseases for which divorce is offered as a remedy,

The Commissioners were, however, unhappily hampered from the first by the narrow and unreasonable limitation of the terms of reference. The Commission issued by the late King Edward on the 8th of November 1909 was to the following effect :

'We have deemed it expedient that a Commission should forthwith issue to inquire into the present state of the law and the administration thereof in divorce and matrimonial causes and applications for separation orders, especially with regard to the position of the poorer classes in relation thereto, and the subject of the publication of reports of such causes and applications ; and to report whether any and what amendments should be made in such law, or the administration thereof or with regard to the publication of such reports.'

A Commission in such terms is obviously incomplete. To attempt to diagnose a disease and at the same time deliberately to shut out from investigation what may possibly be one of the main causes and sources of the disease—the existing law of marriage—is unscientific and entirely unsatisfactory. It may well be that the exclusion of this factor from the evidence given before the Royal Commission and from the consideration of the Commissioners has rendered both Reports unreliable as well as incomplete. The Minority Commissioners half-heartedly suggest that the marriage laws should be strengthened, while in some measure the Majority Commissioners realised the difficulty in which they were placed, for in section 526 of their Report they make this significant reference to the subject :

'The Marriage laws. An inquiry into these laws and their working is not authorised by the terms of our Commission, but many witnesses have attributed much of the matrimonial troubles, miseries, and misfortunes, which exist, to the present state of these laws, and have incidentally expressed themselves on the need for their im-

provement on the ground that they permit far too freely of improvident, reckless, and unsuitable marriages, which lead to disastrous results. They point to the power to contract marriage at an age too early ; to the need for further and more stringent provisions as to obtaining the consent of parents or guardians to the marriage of minors ; to the need for more adequate public notice of intended marriages, and more publicity and formality in marriages before registrars ; to the want of any provisions for ensuring the fitness of persons, mentally and physically, to marry, and that they have any adequate means of livelihood ; and to other matters which render a marriage unsuitable. Though we are not able to inquire into and make recommendations on this important subject, *we have felt that its close connection with the subjects of our inquiry made it impossible to exclude the incidental statements to which we have referred, and that we ought to make this reference to the subject in our Report.*'

We have italicised the astonishing conclusion of this paragraph. Here is a subject that by admission goes to the very root of the whole matter, and it is dismissed in the penultimate paragraph of the Report as an after-thought that has played no part in arriving at conclusions which, whether we agree with them or not, are beyond all doubt revolutionary and far-reaching. The jury of the nation will have every right to complain if anything but administrative changes are made before a searching inquiry into the marriage laws of England has been carried out. Those laws are so profoundly different from the marriage laws of any other European nation, and in their conflict with other laws give rise to such intolerable wrongs and difficulties, that to attempt to change the law of divorce into accordance with the Continental laws on that subject without first assimilating the laws of marriage, would be a juristic outrage that would take its long revenge.

For this reason it is necessary briefly to refer to the history of marriage and divorce in Europe before dealing with the arguments contained in the two Reports. It is not possible here fully to re-argue the fundamental question of the relationship of the family to society. Both Reports assume, without discussion, that the family and not the individual is the unit of society ; and both assume that legislation must aim at the non-corruption of this unit. Without pressing analogy beyond its legitimate limits, we may say that a disease of the unit, or norm, very rapidly becomes a disease of the whole society. Sir Henry Maine

tells us that 'the *unit* of an ancient society was the Family, 'of a modern society the individual.' The latter part of this dictum is only true in an epigrammatic sense; the evidence of its real truth is far to seek, for the simple reason that the history of marriage shows no breaking point between ancient and modern society. The former part is indubitably true, and though the family to-day in England, in respect to questions of property and of parental control, stands far off from the Hindu or the early Roman family, yet, in the actuality of its binding force, it has not been replaced as the generating norm of society by the individual. Both Reports have in effect assumed this. But if the Reports are to be based upon this assumption they must take the consequences, of which there are at least two: first, that marriage is in its inherent nature a life-long union, and secondly that the frailty of men and women may sometimes make a permanent union in the fullest sense of marriage impossible, and that consequently divorce for at any rate some cause or causes has always been necessary. For our purpose, it is sufficient to consider the Aryan races of the Eastern Mediterranean. Whether we consider the Cretans or the Greeks, the Jews or the Romans, we find a very sacred marriage law; we find liberty of divorce and the right, perhaps even the duty, of re-marriage; and we find the most potent economic checks placed on the liberty of marriage, and even more potent checks on the licence of divorce. It was well recognised among all the great peoples, upon whose civilisations we base our own, that the best preventive of divorce was a well-regulated law of marriage; that the only cure of disastrous marriage was well-regulated divorce. That was the doctrine in epochs when the family was a more closely-defined unit of society than it is to-day. This fact has to be borne in mind when we dwell on the importance of maintaining a healthy family life as the unit or cell of the body politic. But if we have to keep divorce in mind as a necessary remedy for certain social diseases, we have no less to keep in mind the historic checks on the reckless or unmeasured use of that remedy. Drugs taken as a habit cease to be a medicine. This is the danger that has not only threatened, but has well-nigh overwhelmed more than one social system.

We have neither the desire nor the intention to exaggerate the importance of the parallels of history. We are well aware

that history does not repeat itself ; but we are also aware that the forces which produced certain results in the past are operative forces to-day, and that if similar social positions of inequilibrium present themselves, similar results will follow. It is for this reason that we feel bound to dwell, though very briefly, on the history of marriage and divorce in Roman and post-Roman times. So far as we can see back in time there were two classes of marriage in Rome : the formal and the informal marriage. The former, whether it were the patrician *confarreate* marriage or, subsequent to the Servian reforms, the plebeian *coemptionate* marriage, represented the ancient formalism of family life ; the wife passed into the hand or *manus* of the husband, and the children into his *potestas* or power. This marriage was religious in its inception as well as formal in its creation, and was essentially, as Modestinus declares, a life-long union. But, nevertheless, the ceremonies of *diffarreatio* and emancipation prove that these sacred unions were not immune from dissolution. Moreover the informal union of persons possessing the *connubium* was not less sacred : the intention to marry coupled with cohabitation created a union that the lapse of a year placed on the exact footing of a formal union, with the consequent passing of the wife into the power of the husband ; while, even if the prescriptive period were deliberately broken, the children nevertheless passed into the power of the father. Thus the Romans, when, after the close of the Punic wars, they approached an age not dissimilar to our own, preserved with great tenacity the ancient family system. But the formless marriage was destined to pass through a strange future which has not even yet wholly become the past. Strangers poured into Rome from all parts of the known world, and the wonderful juristic capacity of the State was strained to the utmost ere it readjusted itself to the new conditions of vast wealth, of unfamiliar social conceptions, of ceaselessly expanding empire. The Renaissance of Rome was at hand in the second century before Christ, and we see the law of marriage adjusting itself to the new order of things. Intermarriages with men or women who were not Roman citizens became common, and the formless marriage under these conditions between free persons, one or both of whom did not possess the *connubium*, became *matrimonium juris gentium*, and was rapidly recognised as *matrimonium justum*. But the

strain, though met legally, in a large measure undermined the family system. Divorce in the case of any formless marriage was equally formless; it was mere dismissal: *Tuas res tibi habeto: redde meas*. Divorce was on an equal footing for the sexes and the departing wife retained her property. Divorce became common, and at last in 167 B.C., by the Maenian law, the State intervened and, displacing the family council which had in each family controlled all questions of divorce, transferred jurisdiction to a Praetorian Court which had power over the properties brought into the marriage. The legislation failed in its purpose and the evil increased. In the year 9 A.D. a further attempt was made by Augustus to deal with the question in the famous Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea, which formalised and penalised divorce in a fashion unknown to former generations. But in this new yet tired world, where riches and the craving for some new thing played a part not incomparable with similar phenomena in our own day, the wealthy classes had slipped the restraints of regulation as well as of morality. In so far as wealth could achieve so disruptive a purpose, the family, in the best and most ancient sense, was in process of dissolution in Rome early in the first century of our era. No system of law could or ever can control an essentially corrupt society. It can but maintain old forms until spiritual regeneration gives them new life.

And this was indeed what happened in the Roman Empire. When corruption was at its height the leaven of regeneration, and not only Christian regeneration, was at work, and in the curious evolution of things after the legislation of Caracalla of about the year 212 A.D., whereby all freemen in the empire were made Roman citizens, we see the ancient conception of the Roman family and of the Roman marriage take to itself new life both in the east and in the west. Before the end of the sixth century we are in touch with the modern problems of marriage and divorce. It is with curious fascination that we watch the evolution and revival; it is with mingled feelings that we observe how in the west fanatical ecclesiasticism, ever trembling at its memories of the frightful social excesses of the first century, hampered that evolution and that revival. It is not necessary here to trace the obscure process by which the ancient parental control over marriage arose once more throughout the Continent; to observe how the *dos* and the

donatio propter nuptias took once more their place as vital factors in family life ; to see how the Eastern Empire introduced a system of registration of marriage that we believe subsisted till the last days of New Rome, and preserved, as the Orthodox Churches preserve to-day, divorce as a necessary factor in the regulation of a society based on a pure family life. Nor is it necessary here to show in detail how the mistaken Western Church, moving by slow stages which only achieved their full purpose in the mid-twelfth century, imposed upon society that Augustinian doctrine of the absolute indissolubility of marriage which had no authority in Jewish history, in Aryan custom, or in the fundamental tenets of Christianity. Another and an even more deadly blow at the basis of family life was dealt by the compilers of the Canon Law, in the formulation of a doctrine of marriage unknown to the Roman law—the doctrine of the Precontract—which declared that consent without cohabitation created a union so indissoluble that it vitiated any subsequent union, however formal and however fruitful. To this they added an elaborate doctrine of affinities, natural, adoptive, marital and spiritual, within the limits of which marriage was impossible, and on the grounds of which almost any marriage could be nullified. In this fashion the doctrine of indissolubility of marriage was evaded with impunity, and to the date of the Council of Trent in the Catholic countries of Europe the traffic in divorces was shameless and universal. But nevertheless throughout the continent of Europe the Roman family maintained, as it still maintains to-day, its obstinate immortality.

But when we turn to England we find a different position. Western Europe was not Romanised only by the Roman legions. When in the fifth century the Western Empire dissolved, its elements possessed a juristic system in which local customs were intermingled with Imperial law as set forth by Theodosius II. and his predecessors. The new kingdoms that arose deliberately adopted a law that preserved the salient features of the old Roman law and especially the laws of family life and marriage. At the beginning of the sixth century we see in operation the Edicts of the Ost-Gothic kings, the *Lex Romana Burgundiorum*, and, chief of all, the *Breviarium Alaricianum* compiled in 506 by order of Alaric II. This latter code became the standard source of Roman law

throughout Western Europe during the first half of the middle ages. England had no such good fortune. Her link with Rome had not been snapped many years when the Western Empire dissolved, but the occupation of Britain had never been complete. After the final withdrawal of Roman support there was no touch between England and Rome for 150 years, and when Augustine came to Canterbury he brought with him not Roman but an ecclesiastical law which he asserted with difficulty. So in Britain there was no implanting of the Roman family, nor any continuity of family life from Roman times. The Germanic races that came to us in the sixth century brought the Germanic but not the Roman idea of *manus*; they came before the later Roman code had penetrated to Saxony and the Frisian coasts. Consequently, while our family life is Aryan it is not Roman, and we nowhere find the special features of the Roman family as they exist on the Continent. Nor did the Norman conquest effect this transformation, since that conquest was followed by the codification of the Canon Law with all that it involved in the law of marriage and in the disintegration of family life.

It is needless here to dwell on the evils that affected marriage and family life in England before the Reformation. The extraordinary corruption of society has been the theme of every student of the history of marriage in England. The Reformation did little to improve the English position, while in fact the counter-Reformation did something to clear away at any rate the worst features of married life on the Continent. In England for a century after the accession of Queen Elizabeth the unrest in social conditions led in practice, if not in law, to second marriages after ecclesiastical divorce for adultery, and indeed without formal divorce at all if adultery was clear. We do not propose now to enter into the vexed historical question, so ably argued by Sir Lewis Dibdin, of the attitude of the law towards these second marriages. Sir Lewis contends that they were illegal. It is sufficient to say that in great numbers of cases they took place and that the children were not regarded as illegitimate. The point we wish to make is that the law of marriage remained in a condition of chaos. The abuse of the precontract as a ground of nullity remained in full force, while there was no compulsory system of marriage regulation nor any check of any kind, such as existed in Roman

and Continental law, on rash or clandestine marriage. The evils were appalling and were not checked by the revival of Church authority at the Restoration. The horrors that abounded in the first half of the eighteenth century, in the shape of Fleet and other marriages of the same type, undermined the whole structure of society. During this period marriage was indissoluble save in the rare cases when, under Reformation precedents, the rich, at great cost, obtained relief by Act of Parliament. From the year 1701 the Parliamentary procedure became judicial rather than legislative, and the main effect of the Divorce Act of 1857 was to transfer the jurisdiction of the House of Lords to a new tribunal within the reach of the fairly well-to-do middle classes. In the meantime Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1753 had stamped out the monstrous evil of the clandestine marriage, and made any marriage not preceded by banns or licence null and void. Much legislation followed until the Marriage Act of 1836 and the Registration Act of 1837 finally settled the law of marriage practically as it now stands. But the law, though it abolished evils that had done much to disintegrate the structure of society, did little to strengthen the family. Lord Hardwicke's Act had recognised parental control over persons under twenty-one years by making marriages null when the dissent of the parent or guardian was brought to the knowledge of the minister, and under the existing law public declaration of such dissent has the same effect. But no other attempt was made to check reckless marriages. If the formalities of banns or licence and registration are fulfilled, any woman over twelve and any man over fourteen years of age can marry, however improper such a marriage may be on physical or other grounds, provided that the parties are not within the prohibited degrees. Indeed marriages at an earlier age are merely voidable and can be affirmed by the parties on attaining the ages of twelve and fourteen years respectively.

It is now three-quarters of a century since the present law of marriage was finally settled, and half a century since the law of divorce on the ground of adultery in the case of a woman or adultery coupled with other circumstances of aggravation in the case of a man, was extended by statute from the rich to the middle classes. During these periods a transformation has passed over the face of England: vast economic change

ve been accompanied by the translation of political power to the hands of a huge electorate, while the position of woman, whether we regard her purse, her person, or her personality, has been revolutionised. To-day she is clamouring at the gates of privilege, and to-morrow she may share the burdens of imperial rule. It was clear enough that whatever else the Royal Commission would find it would unanimously agree on, the things, first the equality of rich and poor, secondly the equality of man and woman. To give to the poor the identical opportunities for the redress of matrimonial wrongs possessed for two centuries by the rich, and for half a century by the well-to-do, was an obvious necessity. The Act of 1857 in effect restricted the hearing of divorce suits to London. Both sections of the Commission are willing, though in different degrees, that local Courts should be set up and a new method of suing *forma pauperis* invented that would give sufficient facilities to enable really poor persons to obtain the same measure of justice as other men and women. The local High Court and other machinery devised is worthy (as indeed is the whole Majority Report) of Lord Gorell's legal acumen and high intellectual gifts. The other point of unanimity was in principle a more difficult matter. Yet the Commissioners are absolutely unanimous in recommending that the sexes should be placed on an equal footing, and they sweep away with something of contempt the astounding eighteenth-century doctrine invented by the House of Lords, that man is naturally polygamous and that woman is naturally monogamous. We are the more pleased that the Minority Commissioners accept this view, since they must recognise that these changes will lead (as Scottish practice shows) to a considerable increase in the number of divorces. In the interests of ultimate moral justice, they have acceded to changes in the law that will produce results which they must regard with pain.

It is well at this point to refer to the other questions upon which the two Reports are at one. They are of great importance, and some of them will again have the inevitable effect of increasing the number of divorces. As we shall see directly, the two groups of Commissioners are in sharp conflict on the subject of the admissible grounds of divorce, and the public interest on the subject has settled on this conflict as providing a definite issue for decision. The public, however, hardly

realises the extent to which the unanimity of all the Commissioners as to certain new causes of nullity, and as to an extension of the present law of presumption of death, has blunted this apparently sharp issue. There can be no doubt that the Commissioners with one accord felt the great difficulty in which they were placed by the evidence of terrible hardship to married persons in cases where no sexual misconduct complicates or simplifies the problem. Both sections of the Commissioners declare in their respective Reports quite clearly that they approach the problem unfettered by any theological or other doctrine. The Majority Commissioners recommend 'the Legislature to act upon an unfettered consideration of 'what is best for the interest of the State, society, and morality, 'and for that of parties to suits and their families,' while the Minority Commissioners declare that 'in framing our Report 'we are bound to treat the question on the broad grounds 'of the real interests of the whole community and with reference to the actual conditions of our day.' In view of such statements hard cases demanded consideration and, if possible, some amelioration. The most numerous cases of hardship are cases of desertion. So numerous are these, and so disastrous are the moral effects of abandonment on the innocent abandoned partner, that the Minority Commissioners, though opposed to any extension of the grounds of divorce, have been compelled to find a way out. That way is the ancient Jewish and the modern Austrian way, the presumption of the death of the deserter. Both Reports recommend that death can be legally presumed after seven years' continuous absence without news of the deserter during that period. They further both recognise that death should be presumed at any time after disappearance if the Court is satisfied on reasonable grounds that the absent person is dead. The Minority Commissioners believe that this would remedy 'many of the worst cases of 'hardship as a result of desertion.' As we shall see, the Majority Commissioners go much further than this, and make desertion for three years a ground of divorce, even when the deserter is known to be living.

There is, on the other hand, agreement between the two groups of Commissioners with regard to new grounds for nullity of marriage. The history of nullity of marriage is for the most part an unpleasant story, the history of juggling with truth

in order to preserve the form without the spirit of an impossible doctrine of indissolubility. At present there are a number of grounds on which a marriage can be nullified. To these it is proposed by all the Commissioners to add five new grounds. The first and second of these are designed to meet the terrible hardships of insanity disclosed immediately after marriage. The Reports recommend that when a party to a marriage, though of sufficient understanding to consent, is at the time of the marriage either of unsound mind in other respects, or is in a state of incipient mental unsoundness, which becomes definite within six months after marriage, and the other party is at the time of the marriage ignorant of the defect, that party shall be entitled to petition for a declaration of nullity within one year of the marriage if there has been no marital intercourse after discovery of the defect. The same relief is offered when one party at the time of the marriage is subject to epilepsy or recurrent insanity, and such fact has been concealed by such party or his or her parents, or either of them, or by anyone else who has control over such party and is aware of the intended marriage, from the other party who is ignorant of the fact at the time of the marriage. Similar relief is offered in the case of a communicable venereal disease similarly concealed. The other two cases of nullity need not be here dealt with. By means of these extensions of the law of nullity the Minority Commissioners endeavour to meet some, perhaps many, of the more flagrant wrongs and hardships that a law of divorce limited to one cause cannot meet. One thing at any rate is certain—that these concessions on the part of the Minority Commissioners will largely increase the number of divorces in this country. We use the term ‘divorce’ advisedly; for these new nullity suits will be in fact suits for divorce, if the word ‘marriage’ still retains its old meaning.

There are three other realms of agreement of extreme significance between the two groups. One of great importance is of too technical a character to receive full treatment here, namely, the elaborate recommendations as to reform of procedure and practice which reflect the immense knowledge and experience of Lord Gorell. We may note, however, that all the Commissioners recommend that the adultery of the petitioner, though still a defence to a petition for divorce, should not in any case exclude the discretion of the Court to grant

the petition. They further recommend, in opposition to a large volume of English and Continental opinion, that the guilty parties after a divorce should be allowed to intermarry. They would modify in important particulars the practice as to the payment of damages by a co-respondent, making such payment, if necessary, take the form of maintenance of the guilty woman or of other persons suffering through the divorce. They advise that matrimonial cases should be tried before a judge alone, or at any rate that the Court should decide if in any particular case there ought to be a jury.

The second realm of agreement is that the present system by which permanent judicial separations can, under the Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women) Act, 1895, and the Licensing Act, 1902, be granted by paid and unpaid magistrates should be abolished, and that the jurisdiction should be confined to cases where temporary separation orders, limited to two years, are necessary for the reasonable immediate protection of the wife or husband, or the support of the wife and the children in her charge. The Minority Commissioners, however, do not join with the Majority in the further recommendation that the High Court should have power to turn the temporary protection order into a divorce or a judicial separation as the case may be.

Finally, all the Commissioners are in complete agreement on the subject of the publication of reports of divorce cases. They would permit a judge to hear *in camera* the whole or part of a case in the interests of decency, morality, humanity, or justice, and would forbid publication of anything that happens during the period the Court is closed. Without closing the Court, the judge should have power to prohibit the publication of any evidence or speeches unsuitable for publication in the interests of decency or morality. No case should be reported at all until the case is finished, and all pictorial publications should be absolutely prohibited. The judge, in exercising his powers of closing the Court or prohibiting publication, should consider the possible effect on the character of individuals connected with the proceedings and should state the grounds for his action. The views of the Commissioners were arrived at after prolonged examination of this difficult question and are beyond criticism. The Minority Commissioners, however, believe that the recommendations appear

not likely to be adequate if the number of Courts is very largely increased.

We have dwelt at length on the matters of agreement between the Majority and Minority Commissioners because we believe that the large range and the extensive effect that these matters will exhibit if carried into legislative force has either been misunderstood or underrated. If legislation could be passed incorporating the points of agreement, we should make an immense step forward. Justice would be given to the poor suitor ; the position of women would be rectified ; some of the more grievous wrongs due to desertion, venereal disease, lunacy and drunkenness (in-so-far as it is capable of assimilation, as it surely is, to lunacy), would finally be driven out of married life ; the practice of the Courts would be reformed ; the gross abuses of the Summary Jurisdiction Acts in relation to marriage would be done away with ; and the corruption of youth, and indeed of many adults, due to the voluminous reporting of disgraceful cases would be abolished. So vast a volume of unanimous proposals for reform reflects credit enough on the broad outlook of the Commissioners and the wisdom of their chairman.

We turn next to the points of difference between the two groups. The Minority Commissioners tolerate one cause (adultery) and one cause only of divorce, but, as we have seen in some detail, are willing enough to meet hard cases, as far as may be, by admitting certain quasi-grounds of dissolution, and are willing to bear a great increase of the number of divorces in order to do justice. The Majority Commissioners in name limit themselves to six causes—adultery, wilful desertion, cruelty, incurable insanity, habitual drunkenness and commuted death sentence—and in doing so are not less inconsistent than the Minority Commissioners, for they base the extended grounds on the principle that dissolution should be allowed in cases where the marriage has *de facto* ceased to exist. But this principle carries us far beyond the six causes admitted by the Majority. It indeed carries us, as the Minority point out, to the position that 'divorce should be granted on the mutual consent of both parties, and on proof of the invincible aversion of either of them for the other.' In fact both groups declined to be bound by logical consequences, and each group claims that the limitations which they quite

arbitrarily set up make for the real permanence of the marriage tie and the purifying of family life. Yet it is impossible to deny, on the one hand, that legal separation without the right of remarriage, which is involved in the proposals of the Minority Report, has never had any sanction in history outside the Western Christian Church, while within the limits of that Church it has, by the admission of every unbiassed historian, been responsible for intolerable degradation of family life, for widespread immorality and the most flagrant evasions of the rule of indissolubility. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to deny that extensive liberty of divorce, unless safeguarded with the most elaborate care by a law of marriage that purifies marriage at the source, and a law of divorce that penalises the wrongdoer in an unforgettable fashion, inevitably leads to evils that tend to rend society asunder. And it must be remembered that though a law of divorce is in itself a law for hard cases, yet the law-maker does not and cannot look at individual cases only. He must consider the reactions of the law on society as a whole. The strength of the Majority position is that it would fain help sufferers of to-day ; the strength of the Minority position is that it aims at so purifying society as to diminish the number of sufferers to-morrow. The Majority say that they will cure the social disease of to-day ; the Minority say that we must do nothing now that will multiply the sick hearts of to-morrow.

We must very briefly examine the case for, and the answer to, each of the new suggested causes. The Majority say that 'wilful desertion, persisted in, breaks up a home even more 'than an act of adultery'; that it is likely to lead to the formation of immoral ties by the deserted spouse ; that collusion can be fully guarded against. The Minority reply that the first three years after desertion are the difficult years, and since the proposal does not help the sufferer in those years, the tendency will be to lessen the period ; that in America this cause produces collusion 'to such a degree as to scandalise 'all decent people'; that desertion is in fact not very frequent among the working classes. We must, however, in justice point out that the proposals of the Minority as to presumption of death in cases of desertion would also involve a serious degree of collusion. We turn to cruelty : 'such conduct by one married 'person to the other party to the marriage as makes it unsafe,

'having regard to the risk of life, limb, or health, bodily or 'mental, for the latter to continue to live with the former.' The proposal to make this a cause meets with the reply from the Minority that the charge of cruelty is a familiar method in the United States to obtain a divorce by collusion. But the Minority do not offer us any solution, except life-long celibacy, in cases where the cruelty is intolerable. Yet such celibacy in many cases (as St. Paul points out) inevitably leads to misconduct, to that very crime against married life which the Minority regard as worse than any other. We pass on to insanity: this disease, the Majority point out, is different from all other diseases, for the patient becomes practically non-existent. But it has to be remembered that this is equally true of curable cases during the absence of the patient, and that curable cases, if the disease is transmissible, are as disastrous as incurable cases from the point of view of society. There are about 70,000 registered insane persons who are married, and of these at least 15,000 and at most 40,000 are incurable. To grant divorce only in incurable cases does not solve the problem. In any event the sane spouse under the proposal would have to wait five years, and these are the most difficult years. The Minority argue moreover that this would be divorce not for fault but for misfortune; that it is not separable as a cause from epilepsy, or paralysis; that there is no large demand for it; while the great majority of experts on mental disease are opposed to it.

The next cause is habitual drunkenness. The Majority would make it possible for the husband or wife of an habitual drunkard to obtain a temporary order of separation and for the drunkard during the currency of the order to be subjected to curative treatment. If the treatment fails it should nevertheless be continued by the High Court for a year, and if this fails divorce or judicial separation could follow. In our opinion this procedure could always be evaded and is therefore meaningless, and we agree with the Minority that in an age when we are at last really dealing effectively with the vice of drunkenness it is scarcely the time for introducing a policy of despair. As to the final cause, namely imprisonment under a commuted death sentence, we have no comment to make. It is a cause *pour rive*; and if it has any signifi-

cance at all, it cannot be distinguished from other long sentences.

One remarkable divergence of opinion between the two groups of Commissioners is on a point of fact. On the evidence the Majority emphatically assert that there is a substantial public demand for increased grounds of divorce, while the Minority as emphatically deny this. We do not attempt to decide, though we think that the case is overstated on both sides. Another scarcely less remarkable, though also less inexplicable, divergence of opinion as to a matter of fact is as to the moral condition of America as exemplified by the statistics as to divorce. Two American witnesses, who have, however, long been resident in England, were very emphatic as to the high moral condition of the United States in sexual matters. On the other hand, the divorce percentages are appalling, even if we place the figures much lower than the percentage of divorces to registered marriages. Even if we halve those percentages, and say that one in thirty marriages is dissolved, we are still in the presence of a society that has ideas about marriage peculiarly abhorrent to the English mind. And we have to remember that we must look rather to America than to the Continent for parallels to guide us. As we have already pointed out, the Continental nations have a law of marriage that specially guards against many of the evils that are the direct causes of divorce in America and even now in England. The Majority Commissioners take pains to point out that 'improvident, reckless and early marriages' are among the causes that produce the state of things which they propose to remedy by a new law of divorce. Yet neither of the Reports before us suggests that a condition precedent to any extension of divorce is a complete reform of our marriage laws. Scotland has been frequently quoted as a parallel for England in the matter of divorce for desertion; but Scotland has secured some of the benefits of the Roman law of family life, and the proprietary penalties that fall in Scotland on the wrongdoer in the case of desertion are a check of the most salutary kind. History shows, and current practice in the United States proves, that whenever divorce has, either in law or in fact, become separated from the close checks afforded by a strict marriage law and by substantial financial checks on reckless divorce, the result

has been disastrous. When we have created those checks on 'improvident, reckless and early marriages' that exist in France; when we have given the wife and children an inalienable interest in some definite portion of the husband's estate upon his death, and the husband and children in the wife's estate upon her death; and when, as in Scotland, we treat divorce as operating on this share of the offender's property with the same effect as death, then the country will be in a position to reconsider the whole question of divorce. At present we have heard too much about divorce and too little about marriage.

It is necessary here to say something as to the position of the Church of England in connexion with future developments of the law of marriage and divorce. The Church long since was compelled to recognise marriage, not only as performed in other Churches, but in its purely civil form. To-day 'about 61 per cent. of marriages in England are solemnised 'in church'; some 20 per cent. are solemnised with religious ceremony outside the Church of England; and about the same number are contracted without any religious ceremony at all. When the Act of 1857 was passed it was provided by the fifty-seventh and fifty-eighth sections that no clergyman of the Church of England should be compelled to solemnise the marriage of any person whose former marriage may have been dissolved on the ground of his or her adultery, but that if any clergyman refuses to officiate in a case where the parties, but for such refusal, would be entitled to have the service performed, another minister entitled to officiate in the diocese where the church in question is situated may perform the service. The Minority hold that if:

'the State should decide to multiply the grounds of divorce it is certain that the great majority of the clergy will decline to officiate at the marriages of persons so divorced, and a large number of them will refuse to admit such persons to Holy Communion. . . . We urge the recognition of the liberty of the Church to exercise discipline over its own members in accordance with its own principles, not only in the interests of the conscientious convictions of Churchmen, but in the interests of the State itself.'

Even if the extended grounds are not granted, the Minority ask that there shall be no legal obligation on a clergyman to solemnise the marriage of a divorced person, and to abrogate the right of a person divorced for adultery to the use of his parish church for the celebration of his marriage, while they

indicate the view that if the grounds are extended the State henceforth should only concern itself with civil marriage. The Majority admit that if the grounds are extended the protecting clauses of the Act of 1857 would need extension and should apply to divorces granted abroad as well as in England.

Frankly we feel that this question of re-marriage after divorce greatly threatens the position of the Church of England as a State Church. We should deprecate, as much as the Minority deprecate, the general separation of the State from the Church in the matter of the celebration of marriage ; but the extension of the grounds of divorce may involve this. A greater difficulty is involved in the suggestion that the taking advantage of extended grounds may lead to the refusal of the Holy Communion. We believe that if the Church of England as a whole adopts such a position it will involve itself in absolute disaster. The attempt to exercise control over the consciences of men by the threat of spiritual penalties can only be justified when moral blame can without doubt be attached. The attempt, to be successful, must be justified on scriptural grounds, and there can be no such justification unless the person repelled is in fact a sinner.

Finally, we desire to submit to the Jury of the Nation one general remark that has a large application not only to the problem before us but to any social problem the complete solution of which involves the application of new and far-reaching economic principles. It is this : that to-day it is very dangerous for legislators to be led either by the silences or the outcries of the hour. History shows us no other age in which the flux of things was more apparent. This is, if we may say so, a provisional age, in which it is not desirable to lay down general social principles intended to govern society when it returns to a state of equilibrium. Legislation to-day should be tentative, not final ; it should base itself on history rather than on the feeling of the hour ; and it should follow national characteristics in preference to the theories of the Lamp or the tendencies of alien lands.

THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANDSLIDES

1. Reports of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1911.
2. Report of the Board of Consulting Engineers for the Panama Canal, 1906.
3. Panama, the Canal, the Country, and the People. By ALBERT EDWARDS. The Macmillan Co. 1912.
4. Panama and the Canal To-Day. By FORBES LINDSAY. Sampson Low. 1912. (New Revised Edition.)
5. Pictures of the Panama Canal. Drawn by JOSEPH PENNELL. Heinemann. 1912.
6. South America, Observations and Impressions. By the RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE. Macmillan. 1912.

THE literature of the Panama Canal is growing rapidly. A number of books, intended primarily for American readers, have appeared recently. That of Mr. Edwards is chiefly notable for its interesting description of the early history of the country of Panama. Mr. Lindsay deals in greater detail with the engineering features of the present work, which are illustrated by admirable photographs.

The most striking illustrations of the canal works are, however, Mr. Joseph Pennell's lithographs. His drawings of the great docks and of the stupendous gates by which they are closed give a better impression of their size and, I would say, their beauty than is obtained from photographs. But in his drawings of the great Culebra Cut the sides appear steeper than they are in reality.

Mr. Bryce devotes the first chapter of his book to the Isthmus of Panama. He has realised and described better than any other author with whom I am acquainted the charm and beauty of the future voyage through Lake Gatun. There will, however, be an initial period of desolation, due to the death and decay of the forest in the lower lands, where the trees will be partly submerged.

But the only source of exact knowledge of the Panama Canal is the information contained in the reports of the Isthmian Canal Commission with their accompanying port-

folios of maps and plans. These I have studied, both at home and on the Isthmus, during visits which I paid to the canal works in 1907, 1908, 1910, and 1912. There also I examined the works themselves, both alone and in the company of Colonel G. W. Goethals, U.S.A., chief engineer, and of the divisional engineers, Colonel W. L. Sibert, Colonel D. D. Gaillard, and Mr. S. B. Williamson. In respect to all that relates to locks and dams the plans of the engineers have been carried through without a hitch. But the excavation of the great Culebra Cut has been attended with wholly unlooked-for phenomena, the solid rocks having undergone movements of undulation which resemble in some degree those of water. These novel occurrences at one time threatened the success of the undertaking, and even now give serious trouble. It is with these, therefore, and the record of them in the reports, that I shall deal in detail.

The proposal of the Isthmian Canal Commission to abandon the project of a sea-level canal caused great disappointment in the United States. The President, Mr. Roosevelt, decided therefore to seek further advice before committing the nation to the high-level scheme. An International Board of Engineers was convened in June 1905 to examine and report. The Board comprised Dutch, English, French, and German, as well as American, engineers. In January 1906 they sent in a Majority and a Minority Report. The Report of the Majority was in favour of a sea-level canal, on the ground that the scheme for a high-level or lock canal entirely depended for its success upon an earthen dam founded upon alluvial soil.

‘The Board is unqualifiedly of opinion that no such vast and doubtful experiment should be indulged in, but on the contrary that every work of whatever nature should be so designed and built as to include only those features which experience has demonstrated to be positively safe and efficient.’

The Majority Report then described the method to be adopted for getting out the Culebra Cut to a depth of 40 feet below mean sea-level, i.e. 80 feet deeper than the cutting which is now being made. The greatest depth on the centre line of the canal would have been 351 instead of 271 feet as at present. It will be seen from the following quotation, taken in conjunction with the words quoted above, that those

who signed the Majority Report considered that a cutting of this depth, through rocks of the character found between Bas Obispo and Pedro Miguel, involved no work which was experimental or beyond the range of that which engineering experience had shown to be positively safe. This was also the view of the Minority, who, though they preferred a high-level canal, raised no objection to the proposal to carry the Culebra Cut down to 40 feet below sea-level except that it would require a longer time. If the engineers who signed the Minority Report had realised that special difficulties would be encountered at greater depths, they would not have failed to emphasise a point which would have told powerfully in favour of the high-level scheme. Amidst all the divergences of opinion on the Board there was unanimity on one point, viz. the slopes to be adopted for the sides of the Culebra Cut. The fact that these slopes have been found to be impracticable on account of landslides shows that a more extensive and philosophical study of these phenomena is required in the interests of engineering science.

The following is the scheme for the Culebra Cut recommended by the International Board :

‘ In the great Culebra Cut the prism of 200 feet bottom width and with side slopes of ten vertical to one horizontal is carried up to an elevation of 10 feet above mean tide, at which elevation there is provided a horizontal berm 50 feet in width on each side of the canal prism. From the exterior limit of these berms benches are assumed for the purpose of estimate, each 30 feet high, with a face slope of four vertical to one horizontal, the width of the bench at top being $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet. These benches are carried to the upper limit of the rock portion of the Cut. This makes the average or mean slope of the rock three vertical on two horizontal. The clay or other soft material overlying the rock is given the . . . slope of one vertical on two horizontal . . .

‘ . . . The materials classified as soft and hard rock have been exposed with surfaces fully as steep as four vertical on one horizontal ever since the old company ceased work in 1889, a period of sixteen years. Furthermore, these slopes and others equally steep produced by the excavation made by the new French Company have been under the personal observation of two members of the Board throughout the past six years, and under the daily observation of another member for over a year. During this time the effects of weathering have been small, soft rock as well as the hard having stood without sensible slipping or other deterioration. In fact it is the result of extended experience with these steep faces both in

Central America and on the Isthmus that the steeper the faces stand without crushing at their lower portions the less weathering and wash from the tropical rains will occur. It is therefore highly desirable to finish these slopes in as high benches and with face slopes as steep as possible.

‘Very few slips of rock have occurred in the deepest portions of the Culebra Cut since it was first opened.’

Appendix B of the Report of the International Board contains ‘A Geological Study of the Isthmus of Panama,’ by Mr. Marcel Bertrand, Professor of Geology at the School of Mines in Paris, and Mr. P. Zürcher. They describe the rocks through which the Culebra Cut has to be dug as consisting of bituminous schists and grit with intercalated tuffs and contemporaneous andesitic flows, the whole overlaid with a thick layer of red clay formed by weathering of the rocks. In places where the red clays lie upon an impermeable bed sloping towards the cut the geologists point out that sliding is likely to take place owing to the lubrication of the lower surface after rains. The geologists cite the persistent sliding at Cucuracha, between Gold Hill and Paraiso, as a case in point. Their report contains, however, an observation upon the quality of some of the deeper rocks which, in the light of subsequent occurrences, is of more interest than this reference to an ordinary case of slipping. They say that they were engaged in preparing for microscopic examination thin slices of rock freshly taken from deep shafts and apparently solid, but that they found it necessary to use oil instead of water because the rocks disintegrated rapidly when wet. After an immersion of a few minutes in water a slight pressure of the finger caused the specimens to crumble, and this happened even in the case of eruptive rock, the material separating like marl or granulating like sand. When the thin slices had been successfully prepared (using oil instead of water) microscopic examination showed that all these rocks, including the eruptive, were traversed by clayey filaments, the presence of which explains, as the geologists point out, the crumbling of the rock-specimens when moistened. It seems singular that this important observation should have attracted so little attention, but this is partly explained by the circumstance that the memorandum of the French geologists is presented in the form of a careless and confused translation.

The Majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers reported, as already stated, in favour of the sea-level canal, but this was due to the fact that the European engineers were unanimously in favour of that plan. The Minority Report was signed by a majority of the American engineers on the Board. The European experts returned to their countries and their voices were no longer heard. The American engineers remained and made their counsels prevail. A lock-canal scheme was adopted with a summit level of excavation of 40 feet above sea, giving a maximum depth of cutting on the centre line of 271 feet. The bottom width in the Culebra Cut was fixed at 200 feet, and the scheme of excavation adopted was that already described, the general slope of the cutting being three vertical on two horizontal from the water surface to the overlying clays. The upper section in the clays was to be flatter, the sides of the submerged portion, 45 feet in height, were to be ten vertical on one horizontal, that is to say nearly perpendicular.

The Americans did not do much excavation until the beginning of 1907. I saw the Culebra Cut in January of that year. The little which the Americans had done up to that date was readily distinguished from the French work by its raw colouring. I noticed that much of the French work was clothed with vegetation, an evidence of stability during the years when work had been interrupted. The terraced sides of the French cutting had been planned for a narrower canal, and the first work of the Americans was not the deepening but the widening of the trench.

Colonel G. W. Goethals, U.S.A. Corps of Engineers, was appointed chairman and chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission in April 1907, a position which he still holds. From the date of his appointment may be reckoned the commencement of that swift and orderly execution of work on the Canal Zone which has so greatly enhanced the prestige of the American nation in the eyes of the world. The first annual report for which Colonel Goethals is responsible is that for the fiscal year ending the 30th of June 1907. No reference is made to landslides. The report for the year ending the 30th of June 1908, however, contains a full account of the renewed movement of the notorious Cucuracha slide. The place called Cucuracha is a little south of the summit of Gold Hill. Here

the beds or strata of rock incline westwards towards the canal, having apparently been tilted thus, from an originally horizontal position, by the upward intrusion of the mass of eruptive andesitic rock which forms the chief part of Gold Hill. The sloping surface of the solid rocks at Cucuracha is overlaid by a thick bed generally described as clay, and which I shall therefore refer to by that name. It is neither so impervious and tenacious as the London clay, nor so light and loose as the red marl of South Devon, but is something between a marl and a true clay. It is formed apparently by deep weathering of the rocks.

When the French opened a trench through the lower part of this sloping bed of clay it broke far back and high up the hill side, just as a glacier breaks at the *bergschrunde* from the stationary ice which clings to the mountain side. Thenceforward the long, broad, and fairly deep mass of marly clay was always creeping into the Cut, its movement being accelerated whenever rain added to its weight and lubricated the surface of the underlying rock. During the years when excavation was interrupted this clay glacier seems to have come to a standstill. In the case of a true glacier the motion continues owing to the melting of the ice in the warmer air which prevails at the level of its toe. In the case of a clay glacier the supporting toe is not thus removed. But when the toe of the Cucuracha 'slide' was removed in the preliminary widening of the American trench, and new, raw surfaces of clay were substituted for grassy slopes, movement began again.

It was first noted on the 4th of October 1907, during the wet season. The rate of advance of the toe was at first 14 feet in twenty-four hours, but by the close of the month the rate had decreased to 4 feet in twenty-four hours. The muddy mass entirely blocked the Cut, the toe pressing against the western side of the excavation. For a time all passage of spoil-trains through the bottom of the Cut to and from the dumping grounds at the Pacific end was stopped. The mass was too soft to be handled by the steam shovels or to support their weight. For a time the 'Force' were discouraged, and a feeling spread that the canal would never be made. In an undertaking of this magnitude, conducted in a foreign land far from the supply-base of skilled labour, such a sentiment is a serious danger. The obstruction

was, however, overcome by bringing water from a high level and sluicing the muddy mass. By this means a passage was opened for the trains, the spoil was hauled away, and in time the Cut was cleared. Since then the amount of material entering the Cut from the Cucuracha slide has not been more than the steam shovels could deal with, and the way has been kept clear. There is now very little if any movement of the material in this 'slide.' So much of it has come down that the comparatively thin bed of clay which remains does not overcome the natural resistances to its motion. Of these, the inequalities of the underlying rock must be increasingly effective as the stratum of moving clay becomes thinner.

Neither has there since 1907 been any dangerous epidemic of discouragement in the operating force. Indeed the spirit of the men is now all that can be desired. Colonel Goethals once said to me that it was the spirit in the men which ensured the success of the undertaking, for all were now confident of ultimate success and proud of having a share in it. I believe that this is a correct view, but the easy confidence of the men is due to reliance on their leader. The individual views of the rank and file upon the engineering problems differ much, and would not lead to general confidence in a successful result were there not at the head of affairs a man whom they trust alike for his scientific skill and for the uprightness of his dealings.

I paid a fortnight's visit to the canal works in April 1908 during the dry season. The organisation of the excavating work in the Cut was then complete and the removal of material was proceeding at an unexampled rate. The terraced sides of the Cut had the neat and regular appearance which suggests stability, and there was no sign of heavy sliding except at Cucuracha. The rapid disintegration of much of the rock which was removed from the Culebra Cut caused me, however, disquieting reflections, and went far towards converting me to approval of the high-level as against the sea-level scheme. I wrote then * :

'Since visiting the Isthmus a second time, and inspecting the work in the Great Cut between Empire and Paraiso, it has seemed

* 'The Panama Canal and its Makers,' by Vaughan Cornish, 1909, p. 55.

to me that there is an objection to the tide-level project which did not fully appear in the early stages of the work, viz. that the behaviour of the rock might involve the engineers in ever-increasing difficulties as the depths increased. The opinion which had been held by many that the difficulties would diminish with the depth did not seem to me to be justified up to that time.'

During my subsequent visits in 1910 and 1912 the disintegration of rock upon the dumping grounds was more and more conspicuous. Large quantities of the heavy dark-coloured eruptive rock which was at first compact and firm had been reduced by weather to the consistency of a coarse flour.

I saw nothing of upheaving landslides during my visit in April 1908, but there is a reference to them in the report for the year ending the 30th of June 1908. This is the first mention of those upheavals of the bottom of the Cut which have been the most singular and disquieting feature of the later stages of the work. The whole reference occupies but one paragraph:

'At the new Culebra station a sinking of the ground surface west of the west slope of the "Cut" was noticed and a corresponding uplift of the bottom of the "Cut" took place. A similar action of the bottom occurred in the canal just south of Gold Hill. In both instances this upward movement of the bottom was stopped by removing the material on the upper levels, whereby the pressure was reduced.'

This class of landslide has occurred chiefly between Empire and Gold Hill, particularly in the neighbourhood of Culebra on the west bank, and opposite thereto on the east bank. The worst section of the canal in this respect is about three miles long.

It is important to study the records of these upheaving landslides in connexion with the depths of excavation at the times of their occurrence. I take the position 'mile 36,' somewhat to the north of Culebra, as representative of the bad 'section.' The level of the original surface on the centre line at mile 36 was 205 feet above sea. The French excavated to 160 feet above sea, lowering the surface 45 feet. By the 30th of June 1908 the Americans, occupied in excavating on the upper slopes to provide for a wider waterway, had only lowered the level on the centre line by 10 feet, viz. to 150 feet above sea.

The deepening of the Cut was further delayed by an

important change of plan which did not originate with the engineers but came to them in the form of an order from the President of the United States. The terraced slopes of the Cut were being got out so as to leave at their foot a channel of 200 feet bottom width between Las Cascadas and Paraiso. In the report for the year ending on the 30th of June 1909 we read :

‘ Under date of the 23rd of October 1908 the President of the United States directed the widening of this portion of the canal, so that the minimum bottom width is now 300 feet. . . . The widening of the top areas sufficiently to secure the required bottom width is practically completed.’

With reference to slides the report of 1909 says :

‘ Slides here [i.e. in the Culebra Cut] are caused by the movement of the top layer of clay soil upon a sloping surface of rock, or other material much harder than the clay itself. The overlying top cover of clay varies in thickness from about 10 to 40 feet, the average thickness being 15 to 20 feet. The widening of the canal in the Culebra section necessitated the cutting of fresh slopes through this top covering of clay for a distance, including both sides of the canal, of about 6 miles, consequently in several localities slopes which had become permanent and were covered with a dense growth of vegetation were again uncovered and subjected to the action of tropical downpours. It was expected, therefore, that more trouble and annoyance than usual from this cause would be experienced during the present rainy season. So far, however, these apprehensions have not been realised to any considerable extent, and the condition of the Culebra Cut in regard to slides is much the same as it was a year ago.’

There is no reference in the report to any recurrence of upheaving landslides. I attribute the continued immunity from trouble with upheaving landslides during this year mainly to the circumstance that, owing to the necessity for widening the upper part of the Cut, the bottom was only lowered 10 feet, the level at mile 36 being at 140 feet above sea on the 30th of June 1909. This was 65 feet below the original surface, i.e. only 20 feet lower than the level at which the French left it.

During the next fiscal year the trouble with upheaving landslides, or ‘ breaks ’ as they are called in the report, developed to an alarming degree. Those at and opposite to Culebra seem to have just commenced previous to July 1909, but not

to have then become alarming. The excavation between June 1909 and July 1910 was characterised by two new features. In the first place the bottom was got out to a level of about 105 feet above sea on the centre line, a lowering of 35 feet in the year, whereas the lowering had previously been at an average rate of 5 feet in the year. In the second place :

‘ In widening the canal so as to secure the requisite 300 feet bottom width the benches or berms that existed were removed, and while this method reduced to a minimum the amount of additional excavation it . . . increased the pressure at the bottom.’—(*Report*, 1910.)

The effect of thus converting a terraced to a continuous slope is referred to in later reports, and the explanation of its bad effect is somewhat differently expressed. It is explained that the benches or terraces ‘ distribute ’ the pressure, and that their removal renders the distribution of pressure throughout the sloping rampart of rock less suitable, leading to an undesirable ‘ concentration of pressure ’ at a certain place or places. In all cases the word pressure as used by the engineers must be taken in the sense of an unbalanced, or one-dimensioned, pressure. In the course of excavation there is no increase either of total hydrostatic, three-dimensioned, pressure, or of actual weight, but the removal of material, reducing one or more components of the total hydrostatic pressure, produces stress of some sort, to which the engineers refer either as ‘ pressure ’ or ‘ concentration of pressure.’ The ‘ breaks,’ accompanied by lateral closing of trenches and sometimes by upheaval of the bottom, were particularly bad in May 1910, at the beginning of the wet season. I visited the canal-works for the third time during the same wet season, viz. in July and August of that year. At many places on both sides of the Cut between Bas Obispo and Paraiso huge slices of the upper banks had foundered, the rock being deeply crevassed, and broken up into fragments resembling the *seracs* of a glacier. In several places below these foundered portions the bottom of the Cut had bulged up as much as 20 feet, and in one case 30 feet. The compact, heavy, dark-coloured rock of which these excrescences were composed was crevassed and broken up. The subsidences above had a somewhat concave surface, the bulgings a convex top.

I was not so fortunate as to be present at the moment of formation of a pair of these related structures, but the following account was given me by Colonel Goethals of the occurrences attending a 'break' opposite to Whitehouse, near the north end of the Cut. The first thing which was noticed was that a steam shovel which was working in the bottom of the Cut was rising. A telephone message was sent to inform Colonel Goethals, who promptly proceeded to the spot. Examining the slopes above he found that a crack had appeared in the soil. Afterwards the soil and rock in front of this crack foundered and, breaking into fragments, moved forwards and downwards. The rise of the steam shovel was about 9 feet in the course of that afternoon.

It will naturally occur to the reader to inquire what happens to the rock between the subsiding and the upheaving portions. It has sometimes happened that there has been a steam shovel on a railway track at such an intermediate position, and the subsidence above and upheaval below have occurred without distortion of the railway lines or accident to the steam shovel. I gather that there has generally been a bodily shift of material towards the Cut, but there has been no deformation or fracture of the surface. This intermediate position appears, therefore, to be the node of a true gravitation wave of which the convex upheaval may be regarded as the crest and the concave subsidence as the trough. In addition to the differential movement in a vertical sense there is, however, generally, if not always, a bodily movement towards the axis of the canal. Thus I saw one excrescence in which the horizontal movement had been 30 feet and the vertical 18 feet.

The excrescence did not extend nearly the whole way across the canal, but it reached a considerable part of the way so that such an upheaval would seriously reduce the width of the navigable channel. If two upheavals occurred opposite to one another, as had happened in one case between Empire and Culebra, the remaining channel might even be dangerously narrow. One important respect in which these upheaving landslides differ from the clay glacier at Cucuracha is in the rapidity of their movement. In the case of a great 'break' which occurred on the east side of the canal on the northern slope of Gold Hill the engineer in charge of the central division, Colonel D. D. Gaillard, was so fortunate as to witness the process of upheaval.

He was on the west side of the canal when he saw a shovel at the bottom of the Cut on the east side beginning to rise. He hastened to the spot, arriving in about ten minutes, by which time the shovel had risen 11 feet. The upheaval was accompanied or followed by a subsidence of the rock above. It must be clearly understood that the upheavals in the Culebra Cut are no mere subsidiary accompaniment or contingent of a squeezing-out of the foot of the bank. In the case of many of the landslides the principal movement at the lower level is the bursting up of the bottom, not the pushing out of the foot of the bank. In a break north of Gold Hill the excrescence was removed by steam shovels, whereupon a second subsidence occurred above, accompanied by a second upheaval in the same place as the first. The process was repeated no less than seven times before a stable condition was attained. Towards the end the upheavals were, however, of smaller size.

The report of 1910 recognises the seriousness of the new form of landslide, and provision was made in the estimates for an increase in the total amount of excavation of no less than five and a half million cubic yards on account of 'slides and 'breaks.' It is pointed out in the report of 1910 that hitherto the movement of material into the Cut had consisted almost entirely of superficial clay sliding on a greased and sloping surface of rock which itself remained unbroken and undisturbed; but that in this year it was the rock itself which had failed, breaking and foundering in several places between the north end of the native village of Culebra and a point about 1200 yards south of Gold Hill. Reference is made to the upheavals produced, and it is stated that the breaks occurred 'where the underlying rock was of poor quality and intersected by vertical seams or seams sloping toward the canal.'

The 'breaks' with their associated upheavals continued throughout the next twelve months, and in the report for the year ending the 30th of June 1911 we find that a further addition of 4,500,000 cubic yards is made to the estimate of excavation 'to allow for the slides and breaks which have 'developed beyond the limits assumed in the preparation of the 'former estimates. . . . Thus far 10,757,658 cubic yards of 'material due to slides have been removed, and the estimated 'amount remaining is 5,868,120 cubic yards.'

The report goes on to describe the 'breaks' and the method by which it was thought that they could be stopped :

'In addition to the slides, breaks have occurred, notably on both sides of the Cut at Culebra. At localities where these have taken place the underlying rock is of poor quality, intersected by vertical seams or seams sloping toward the canal. As the excavation progresses the distribution of the weight is changed, until, by the concentration which follows, the breaking point of the weak stratum is reached, and it is broken up and squeezed out of place, thus causing a heaving up of the bottom, or a pushing out of the sides, or both. . . . The rational method of treatment in these cases seems to be to relieve or reduce the pressure as much as possible, and work along these lines was directed in the latter part of the dry season on the west side of Culebra Cut, and has been so successful that a point has been reached so that the shovels at the bottom are not interfered with, and are enabled to move ahead without bulging due to pressure from this side. Intermediate benches along the slope are cut so as to distribute the top weight and reduce the amount of material that may have to be removed. Work was started similarly on the east side along the same lines. By carrying out this plan when the bottom grade of the canal is reached it is apparent that no further trouble need be anticipated and that greater stability will be given by the water.'

The plan of removing a broad and thick slab of material, including the superficial clay, from the top had been decided upon at the time of my visit in July and August 1910. The condition of equilibrium described above appears only to have been reached towards the end of the fiscal year which terminated with June 1911, and during most of this year both sides of the Cut must have been in a state of disintegration and collapse, whilst the bottom frequently upheaved. What happened then was presumably due mainly to the excavation of the preceding year when the terraces were cut away and the bottom lowered no less than 35 feet. The equilibrium of the west bank attained at the end of June 1911 was due, I suppose, partly to the removal of top weight, as described in the report, and partly to the fact, which I learn by measurement of the diagrams contained in the report, that the lowering of the bottom between the 1st of July 1910 and the 30th of June 1911 was only 15 feet, the bottom level at 'mile 36' being then 90 feet above sea, which is 115 feet below the original surface.

Under these promising conditions the work of the next fiscal

year (1911-1912) commenced. As a further guarantee against a recrudescence of breaks a reduction was made in the quantity of dynamite employed in the blasting charges. Experiments with a rough form of seismograph had shown that deeply placed charges containing large quantities of dynamite severely shook the ground, and therefore might be supposed to originate some of the numerous cracks which were apparent on the surface. The weather seemed to favour the prospects of the year's work, for the winter months, when rainfall is usually slight, were characterised by complete drought, and this extended almost to the end of the fiscal year, so that the rocks were neither weighted nor lubricated by rain. Thus, starting, so to speak, with a clean bill of health, adopting additional precautions dictated by experience, and apparently favoured by the weather, the Cut was once more rapidly deepened, the level on the centre line at mile 36 being about 57 feet above sea on the 30th of June 1912, that is to say being lowered 33 feet in the twelve months, or nearly the same as the lowering achieved in the year ending with June 1910. At the north and south ends of the Cut the excavation was carried 'down to grade,' i.e. to the final level of 40 feet above sea. Only between Empire and Culebra a slight protuberance about 20 feet high still remained to be shaved off on the centre line. The full width at bottom was not, however, yet got out in this portion of the canal. Such was the extent of the deepening in the last fiscal year on the centre line. The depth below the original surface on the centre line at mile 36 was now 148 feet. No other figure can be conveniently substituted to express the comparative rates of increase of the banks of the Cut in different years, but the actual growth of the banks is greater owing to the circumstance that the axis of the Cut follows the trough of a natural valley. When the Cut is widened at the top its upper edge creeps back up the slope of the valley side. Thus the plan in the report of 1909 shows the edge of the Cut opposite the club-house at Culebra to be at about 250 feet above sea, whereas on the 30th of June 1912 it was at about 315 feet. The total height of the banks of the Cut at Culebra, at the point of greatest width, and worst breakage, was then approximately 260 feet.

It is fortunate indeed that the engineers have now nearly reached the final depth. If they were to attempt to carry the

trench down another 80 feet what a spectacle of disintegration and collapse might be witnessed in the Culebra Cut! As it is, the stress upon the bottom of the Cut is already about as much as it will finally have to bear. At the north and south ends it is indeed greater. The depth of 45 feet of water is equivalent in weight to about 20 feet of rock, so that when the water is let in the stress from the unbalanced weight of the banks will be reduced to what it was when the bottom excavation was at 60 feet above sea level. There cannot therefore be another year in store for the engineers which shall throw upon their work so much additional, unbalanced, weight as that which accompanied the excavations of the two years ending the 30th of June 1910 and the 30th of June 1912.

I spent three weeks on the canal works in April and May 1912. At the time of this, my fourth and latest visit, the country was parched by unusual drought, there having been scarcely any rain since the previous November. The superficial clays were honeycombed with sun cracks. The drainage channel at the bottom of the Cut was dry. There was a very large break between Culebra and Empire where the bedding of the rocks is horizontal. Not long before this break occurred the engineer in charge of the division had remarked that this section at least was safe. Since the commencement of the breaks a resident geologist had been appointed to assist the engineers. He also had not been able to warn them of the impending break. In fact geological opinion had encouraged the misplaced reliance of the engineers upon the stability of the rock. In 1907 the geologist who had been sent down to examine the district reported as follows:

‘Several small faults do occur in the Culebra beds between Culebra and Empire and cross the canal in an east and west direction, but they will have no effect on excavation nor upon the stability of the slopes. . . . The physical character of the Culebra beds, consisting as they do of alternating layers of sandstone and shale, is peculiarly favourable to landslides. Structurally, however, the strata are so nearly horizontal or have such low southerly dips north of Gold Hill that movements involving large masses of rock are improbable. . . . No difficulties are to be anticipated in continuing the excavation in the Culebra region except at Contractor’s Hill [opposite to Gold Hill], where it is possible, but not probable, that landslides may take place when lower beds are reached. . . .’

This passage illustrates the prevailing view that earth-movements were only to be feared where the removal of support from a sloping stratum caused it to tear across near the top, leaving the lower part free to glide, slowly or quickly, into the cutting.

The break between Culebra and Empire, where the strata are horizontal, was generally called 'the Dry Slide.' It began during the dry season, and when I saw it in April and May 1912 it consisted of blocks of clay and of rock in a very dry state. I shall endeavour to show later that rainfall probably had been an agent in producing even this break, but the horizontality of the bedding, and the dryness of the material and of the weather, show that it was not produced either by lubrication of an underlying surface or by the overloading of upper strata with water. South of Gold Hill there was not so much breakage and upheaval as during my visit in 1910. At the deepest part of the Cut between the summits of Gold Hill and Contractor's Hill I saw no upheavals. The worst part seemed to be from the northern slopes of Gold Hill and Contractor's Hill, just south of Culebra, to a little north of Empire, on both sides of the canal. It is here that, according to the Geological Report of 1907, the line of the canal is crossed by several small faults, but the engineers attribute the great breaks to pressure on underlying seams or strata of weak rock. Thus Colonel Goethals* says that the breaks are caused by

'a pressing down of this mass on the weaker structure below, forcing the weaker structure sideways, as well as a movement upward at the bottom of the Cut.'

And in the official weekly *Canal Record* for the 4th of September 1912 it is stated that

'most of the so-called slides during the past year were, properly speaking, breaks in the banks of the Cut due to the inability of an underlying layer of rock of poor quality to support the enormous pressure superinduced by the weight above it. This weight crushes the underlying material, forces it laterally and causes it to heave in the bottom of the Cut.'

* 'Hearings concerning estimates for construction of the Isthmian Canal,' evidence taken on the 20th of November 1911.

The material which fails thus is here described as argillaceous sandstone which is broken into pieces ranging in volume from a few cubic inches to 20 or 30 cubic yards. Elsewhere the weak underlying stratum to which the breaks are, I think correctly, attributed is a bed of lignite. I received a particular account of the effect of this material from Office-Engineer Mr. A. B. Nicholls, in whose department I inspected specimens of rocks, and examined detailed geological maps and sections which have not been published. Mr. Nicholls' view, which I believe to be correct, is that, in the process of excavation, water has, perhaps for the first time, reached this and other beds or seams, depriving them of their cohesion. In this connexion I refer the reader to the observation, already cited, that thin slices of some of the deeply seated rocks could only be made with the use of oil, because when moistened with water they crumbled at a touch.

Geological investigation has shown that the material trenched by the Cut between Empire and Culebra is a somewhat bewildering complex of rocks which owe their present state and position to volcanic action in tertiary times. There is discontinuity of structure horizontally, and discontinuity of material vertically, i.e. stratification and lamination, in the rocks of the Cut. These sources of weakness were known to the International Board of Engineers. Yet they calculated that the rock in the worst section would be stable in a bank of 245 feet vertical height on the centre line at 'mile 36,' whereas it began to break when the depth in the centre line was only 65 feet. The proposed general slope was more-over 3 vertical on 2 horizontal, whereas the slope at the widest part of the Cut in September 1912 was about 1 vertical on $3\frac{1}{2}$ horizontal, and the banks were still breaking.*

The engineers had the opportunity of seeing and handling specimens of the underlying rocks obtained from numerous borings. It is not to be supposed that men of their ability and experience estimated the strength of those specimens at more than four times the real figure. The true explanation of the upsetting of all calculations is, I have no doubt, the subsequent deterioration of certain beds of rock by the action of rain. I have already dealt with the mechanical

* See the official *Canal Record* for Oct. 2, 1912.

action of rain, viz. the lubrication and weighting of the rock. Rain has also a physical and a chemical action. The physical action of moisture is to diminish the resistance of rock both to crushing and to tension.* Some allowance for the physical action of water would be dictated by engineering experience. Rain, however, has exerted a third kind of action upon the rock, viz. chemical, and where this chemical decomposition has occurred the cohesion of the rock has been entirely destroyed. 'Lime rock' has been observed to become heated by direct hydration. 'Pyrites rock' containing much ferrous sulphide has crumbled during rapid oxidation, giving off such clouds of steam that the workmen thought they had encountered a volcano; and dissolved carbonic acid, and acids provided by vegetable decomposition, have no doubt contributed to the rotting of the rock. The removal of a broad and thick layer of shower-proof clay, a process which stopped the breaks for a time by lessening the pressure, must have greatly facilitated the infiltration of the rain, so that when the Cut was again deepened the underlying rock had been already further weakened.

I think we may reasonably attribute the greater stability of the Cut in its deepest part between Gold Hill and Contractor's Hill in no small measure to the fact that the andesitic rock which forms the chief part of those eminences is impervious to rain. On the other hand the filling of the Canal with water may accelerate the rotting of some of the rock, and the chemical action of the water may therefore partly neutralise the beneficial effect of its weight.

The conclusion of the whole matter, as far as the completion of the canal is concerned, is this: that where breakage and subsidence with the associated upheavals occur the banks of the canal must be regarded not as rock but as earth, using these terms in the engineering sense. Any cohesion which the material may have must be regarded as temporary. When a break has once occurred the material must be classed as not even firm earth but as loose earth. The final width at the top of the Cut where these wave-like breaks occur must be that

* I am indebted to Dr. J. C. Owens, A.M.I.C.E., for the information that the tensile strength of rock is diminished by moisture.

required by material which is supported by friction only without cohesion. Only by the growth of vegetation will the broken banks be safely retained at a steeper angle than that of loose earth. Experience between the end of the French work and the beginning of the American operations shows that the covering of vegetation is rapidly formed and is, at all events, efficient protection against the washing away of the surface by rains. I do not know if it would be practicable to provide a complete covering of concrete or other impervious material which would prevent the access of rain water to the rocks which are disintegrated by its action.

The upheaved portions of the canal bottom do not even now block the whole channel. The full depth is now attained throughout most of the Cut and very nearly attained in all of it. As the slopes are further flattened the unbalanced pressure will be immediately diminished and the upheavals will gradually become less.

In July 1913 it is proposed to blow up the dyke at Gamboa which now restrains the accumulating waters of Lake Gatun from entering the Cut. The big dredge *Corozal* is then to be brought into the Cut from the Pacific entrance to continue work upon any breaks and upheavals which may occur. By the beginning of 1914 large ships should be able to pass through the canal without risk, though perhaps not always without delay. Work will probably be required upon the sides of the Cut for several years afterwards. The full stress is only just beginning to be felt at the bottom of the Cut, and the final effect of stress upon large masses of rock and earth often develops very slowly.

The attainment of the full depth in the Culebra Cut will, after the lapse of a due interval, deprive the problem of upheaving landslides of its present local importance. The philosophy of the subject should, however, be cultivated for the guidance of engineers in future undertakings. It also has an important bearing upon the explanation of certain great natural processes, particularly the upheaval of mountains and the formation of ocean basins and their associated continents. The fact that earthquakes are frequently double-barrelled (tremors proceeding simultaneously from two distinct centres) is probably related to the fact, which I recorded in 1910, that

the ground is fractured * both at the trough and the crest of the wave-like landslide, but is unbroken in the space between.†

The subject of landslides is in many respects obscure, but I will, in concluding the present review of past occurrences, indicate the principle on which I rely for guidance in further investigation of those which are accompanied by upheaval. The principle is that they are merely a special case of the formation of a waved surface by the action of gravity. Such waved surfaces are produced not only on the ocean but also in the air and in the earth.‡ They are not an invariable accompaniment of gravitational movements in the atmosphere, hydrosphere, and lithosphere; but, on the contrary, need particular conditions for their production. These conditions are, however, sufficiently common and widespread for waved surfaces to be important phenomena all the world over. For their production there must be not a mere displacement of material, or simple flow, but a reciprocating, or compensated, movement. But not every compensated movement in the atmosphere, hydrosphere, or lithosphere is a wave, or produces a waved surface. In the atmosphere, particularly, relative movement more often produces a columnar than a corrugated or wavy structure. The former is exemplified by a system of cyclones and anticyclones with vertical axes travelling over the earth side by side. The latter, or corrugated, condition is produced when the atmosphere is *stratified* by the unusual arrangement of warmer air above and colder below. If relative movement then occur it makes a waved surface between the layers, and when clouds are formed there they are arranged in parallel bars transverse to the direction of relative movement, and are the wave-like clouds which form a 'mackerel sky.' Air moving in a broad layer over the broad surface of the sea raises waves, but in winding rivers the flowing water, in spite of inequalities of resistance, does not go much into waves, but, swirling round sideways, sets up the other kind of compensating movement, the differentiated parts moving

* 'The Panama Canal in 1910,' by Vaughan Cornish, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, December 9, 1910.

† 'On the Cause of the Jamaica Earthquake of January 14, 1907,' by Vaughan Cornish, *Geographical Journal*, September 1912.

‡ 'On Kumatology,' by Vaughan Cornish, *Geographical Journal*, June 1898.

side by side, not one above the other. Similarly, I think, one should be on the look-out for stratification as the special cause for upheavals in landslides and, generally, for the formation of waved surfaces by gravitational movements of the lithosphere. I do not go so far as to assert that without stratification there can be no upheaval, but I regard it as probably the commonest cause of upheavals, and as certainly the cause of those which produce a well-marked waved surface having large lateral development in proportion to the distance separating crest and trough.

In the reports of the Isthmian Canal Commission the upheavals, and the pushing out of the foot of the bank, are treated indifferently as results of the same cause. The record of the landslides which finally stopped open mining in the South African diamond mines does not support this view. In Mr. Gardner Williams' work on 'The Diamond Mines of South Africa,' * much space is devoted to a description of the collapse of the sides of the great pits. In spite of flattening the slopes and other precautions the landslides increased as the depth increased, and so buried the floor that further work became impossible. This occurred in most cases at a depth of about 400 feet. No mention is made of the floor having bulged up. Work was resumed by tunnelling and so reaching the floor from below. The sections showing the way in which the ground was tunnelled and worked in immediate proximity to this floor seem to prove that if there were any bulging at all it must have been but slight, and not sufficient to break up the rock. Now the rock of the diamond mines is a volcanic breccia, which, like the volcanic or eruptive rocks of the Culebra Cut, disintegrates on exposure to air and rain. Thus there is great similarity between the materials in these two deepest open workings in the world, viz. the deep trench of Culebra and the deep pits of Kimberley. But the account of the volcanic breccia of Kimberley indicates that it is homogeneous in the sense of being unstratified. It is not 'seamy' like the Culebra rock. I take it as reasonably certain that all the important upheavals in the Culebra Cut have occurred where

* 'The Diamond Mines of South Africa,' by Gardner F. Williams, general manager of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd. 2 vols. 1905.

a layer or seam of weak rock underlay the bottom. This being broken up behaved as a fluid and burst up the floor. Its escape left the heavy beds above unequally supported, and where support failed they broke by their own weight. A very extensive sheet of any solid inevitably bends or breaks under its own weight, if ever its weight has an opportunity to act. The crust of the earth is made of solid layers which are very broad and long in proportion to their thickness. Hence their liability to fold and fault, i.e. to bend and break. Where a lower layer has any degree of fluidity, and the pressure upon it is different at different places, there will be a flow which will tend to let down the superincumbent stratum in one place and bulge it up in another. There is no doubt that a process of this kind occurs on a great scale in the lithosphere. It may have produced the continents. It is not improbable that it now maintains them by an upheaval which reverses the lowering effect of denudation. By such a process are also upheaved the masses from which mountains are carved by the agencies of weather.

VAUGHAN CORNISH.

THE DESTINY OF SWITZERLAND.

1. Deux Républiques (France et Suisse). Par UN DIPLOMATE. Berger-Levrault. Paris : 1912.
2. La Suisse Moderne. Par ALBERT DAUZAT. Charpentier. Paris : 1910.
3. La Suisse au XXe Siècle. Par PIERRE CLERGET. Armand Colin. Paris : 1908.

IT has long been the fashion to praise Switzerland and congratulate the Swiss. The Swiss have freely praised themselves ; and their foreign critics have echoed their eulogies, albeit with a suspicion of condescending patronage in their manner, as though they were patting Sunday School children on the head, or exhorting the sluggard to consider the ways of the ant, or inviting admiration of the well-ordered economy of the bee-hive. '*Braves gens !*' was the common French form of the testimonial. It expressed something more than approval but something less than enthusiasm. It suggested, perhaps, that the Swiss were to be admired, without being taken too seriously. The admiration was qualified by an inflection of the voice. The thought at the back of the brain of the panegyrist, duly developed in the course of his panegyric, was generally somewhat as follows :

' These Swiss, of course, are most shockingly provincial—most obviously not of " the centre." They talk bad French, and worse German. The manners of their distinguished men lack distinction, and even their best-dressed women are dowdy. Though they are carefully educated, their achievements in culture do not count ; and as for their achievements in the fine arts,—well, one does not expect to gather figs from thistles. Those are their limitations : no doubt the inevitable limitations of their provincialism. Yet, within those limitations, what an admirable provincial people they are ! How simple, how independent, and how public spirited ! With what laudable ingenuity they have solved their problems, and worked out their salvation, contriving a democracy which is democratic in fact as well as name ! How much we, who belong to greater nations, who write better books, paint better pictures, wear better fitting clothes, pride ourselves on being better men of the world, make love with more intensity of sentiment, and live more as if life itself were one of the fine arts, might learn from these Swiss, if we would stoop to take a hint from them ! '

Such are the qualifications. They are quickly finished ; and then the patting on the back begins. We are asked to admire the Referendum : that trump card which the Swiss elector always has up his sleeve, ready for production in case the representatives whom he has elected should try to jockey him. Our enthusiasm is invited for the admirable Swiss army : an army of conscripts with the spirit of volunteers ; patriotic enough to spend all their Sunday afternoons in practising marksmanship ; trustworthy enough to be allowed to take not only their rifles but also their cartridges home with them. The absence of pauperism and the scarcity of crime are next remarked ; and then, after a passing compliment to the morality of a people among whom the social evil scarcely exists, blessings are showered upon the Swiss system of education. It is so thorough, we are assured, and so practical. Illiterates are as rare as philosophers ; and the greatest care is taken to teach both boys and girls such things as will be useful to them in after-life : book-keeping and bee-keeping, watch-making, type-writing, and cooking.

Book after book about Switzerland has, in the past, proceeded on those lines. The story which they unfold is an old one, and, on the whole, a true one. The praise is justified, and the qualifications also have their warrant. It is true that the Swiss are provincial ; and there is no reason to fear that the telling of the truth will offend them. They are not provincial by accident, but because they have chosen to be so ; provincialism is, so to say, the *raison d'être* of Switzerland. As one of their own writers has well put it : ' Switzerland is not one of those countries which are bound to have a separate existence, like England and Spain. It only exists because the Swiss have made up their minds that it shall.'

That means, of course, that the Swiss have, by their deliberate action, cut themselves loose from the centres alike of France, of Germany, and Italy, preferring to keep themselves to themselves, to mind their own business, and to leave other people to mind theirs. That has been the common note of their history from the time when the Forest Cantons rose against the Duke of Austria to the time when Neuchâtel shook off its allegiance to the King of Prussia, and chanted the proud refrain, still printed on the picture post-cards :

On connaît à Berlin
Le nom de Valangin ;

while Amiel, a professor and the least belligerent of men, sat down at the piano, like Rouget de l'Isle, and dashed off that Swiss 'Marseillaise': 'Roulez, tambours!' In short, from Morgarten downwards, nearly all the great battles of Swiss history have been so many doughty blows struck on behalf of provincialism.

It is to be noted, further, that the provincialism on which they have insisted has not been of a wholesale, but of a retail, character. They have passed, as it were, by the road of revolution, from provincialism to particularism. They have not severed themselves from one centre in order to rally round another, but in order, so far as possible, to dispense with a centre. Vaud has resented the overlordship of Berne as fiercely as Geneva resented the overlordship of Savoy; and, as if twenty-two cantons were not enough, three of the twenty-two have been split, for most administrative purposes, into halves. So that one can fairly say, not only, as has just been said, that provincialism is the *raison d'être* of Switzerland, but also that the sincere desire to be as provincial as possible is the common note of the Swiss: the bond which not only unites them, but makes them resemble each other, in spite of their differences of origin, language, and religion.

In intimate conversation, it is true, they are apt to insist upon those differences with an emphasis akin to that of a man from Belfast expressing his candid opinion of the men of Kerry or Tipperary. The man from Berne will present himself as the proud representative of a ruling race and tell you that his neighbours the Vaudois exhibit all the vices and weaknesses of emancipated slaves. The Vaudois, on the contrary, will present himself as the polished gentleman of European culture, while assuring you that the Bernese are as uncouth as the bears in their famous bear-pit. Similar amenities are currently interchanged between the Vaudois and the Genevese. The former, according to the latter, are as clumsy and slow-witted as their cattle. The latter, according to the former, are indolent, frivolous, and insincere. Presumably there is, in each case, a certain basis for the criticism; but the stranger has to get very close to the facts in order to discern it. The differences, to him, are far less noteworthy than the resemblances. Those differences have been diminishing, and those resemblances have been increasing, ever since that excellent patriot, Doyen Bridel, pronounced himself 'neither a Zurich man, nor a Berne man,

'nor a Canton Vaud man, but a Switzer,' and devoted the whole of a long literary life to the task of impressing upon the Swiss the greatness and the unity of their country.

The stranger, like Doyen Bridel, has always seen the Swiss 'in the lump.' The elegant Hérault de Séchelles did so, when he commented, in the eighteenth century, on their practice of sitting down to dinner without washing their hands. 'Ça ne fait rien pour des Suisses,' he reports his landlord saying to him, when, arriving at an inn in the course of a walking tour, he expressed a desire to attend to his toilet before joining the *table d'hôte*. Similarly with later and more sympathetic observers. Their criticisms of Swiss manners and institutions have always dwelt upon those institutions and manners which are common to all the Swiss. They have remarked upon Swiss utilitarianism and Swiss simplicity; Swiss equality, Swiss orderliness, Swiss industry; above all, perhaps, on Swiss provincialism.

On the whole, they have admired, and rightly so; for provincialism has, on the whole, been a success in Switzerland. The Swiss have solved many difficult problems with ingenuity and originality. They have produced great results with small resources. They have shown what the plain man can do in the way of government without the help of a ruling class, of 'gentlemen,' of men of leisure, of millionaires, of professional politicians. The process has been, at once, very instructive, and very interesting to watch, and has afforded many useful object lessons in the art, not only of administration, but of living; and it is precisely for that reason that one is impressed by the appearance, during the last few years, of a number of books about Switzerland in which a new note is sounded.

It is a note of anxiety, and almost of alarm; though one cannot detect in it anything of the sensationalism of the scaremonger. The books only echo the apprehensions of the more thoughtful of the Swiss journalists; and Switzerland is probably the country of Europe in which journalists are most prone to think before they write. It is no part of their programme to make the flesh of their readers creep; and there is no group among them irrevocably committed to the doctrine, so popular in England, that the country is going to the dogs. They do not write at the top of their voices like Mr. Garvin and Mr. Maxse; they do not juggle with figures like our

Tariff Reform pamphleteers ; on the contrary, they study statistics with the thoroughness of statisticians, and draw their inferences with the comparative calm of professors. Their natural inclination is to believe that all is for the best in the best of all possible Confederations ; and if they come to the conclusion that there is something rotten in the state of Switzerland, they come to it with intense reluctance.

Perhaps it would be too much to say that they have definitely come to it as yet ; but it is none the less the case that they are getting frightened, and that the writers of the works before us not only report their fears but produce a good deal of evidence to show that they are well-founded. The later books, indeed, are more alarming in their tone than the earlier ones. They all quote from the figures of which the Swiss Statistical Department is so lavish ; and those figures certainly seem to be affording more and more food for reflection as the years roll by. It becomes necessary to pose questions which, only a few years ago, nobody would have dreamed of posing : questions involving the distinctiveness of the Swiss character, the purity of the Swiss race, and even the permanence of the Swiss Confederation.

Broadly speaking, the question is, Will Switzerland—the characteristic Switzerland which has received the meed of so much foreign admiration—last ? And, if it does not last, how will the end come, and what will be substituted therefor ? It is not a problem which belongs to the remote future, and awaits solution by the slow stir of forces gradually operating through innumerable ages. Switzerland is a very small country ; and the forces at work are very potent forces. It is a case of a great deal of leaven leavening a very small lump ; and leaven in such a case works quickly. The changes which those who have diagnosed the dangers apprehend are expected to occur in our own time, under our eyes ; and they are expected to be radical. Let us tabulate the factors which have to be reckoned with, and consider what effects they are likely to produce. The subject is specifically dealt with in our Diplomat's chapter on ' the future of Switzerland ' ; but all our authors alike contribute calculations and cite figures which bear upon it.

We think of the Swiss, in the first place, as determined but intelligent provincials, intent above all things upon keeping themselves to themselves, and managing their own affairs in

their own way ; we think of them, in the second place, as simple-minded agriculturists and mountaineers, exempt from the evils which attend industrialism in congested centres. We think of their country as the impregnable stronghold of wild nature—that playground of Europe into which one could always escape from the fatiguing artificialities of a complicated civilisation, as Rousseau did, first in the Jura, and afterwards on the Lake of Bienne ; as S  nancour did when he pursued the spiritual experiences recorded in ‘Obermann’ ; as Matthew Arnold did when he was hesitating between the charms of Marguerite and the responsibilities of an inspectorship of schools ; as the members of the Alpine Club used to do in the days when they wrestled with overwhelming emotions and published the result in ‘Peaks, Passes and Glaciers.’ We think, finally, of Swiss independence and neutrality as axiomatic facts which even the most ambitious of the Great Powers is unlikely to care to dispute, so long as the Swiss militia retains its efficiency.

The Swiss militia is said to be as efficient at the present time as it has ever been. The German Emperor, who ought to be a good judge, is reported to have formed a very favourable opinion of it last summer. The general staff have so much confidence in it that, not long ago, in the course of a diplomatic dispute with Italy which seemed likely to result in war, they talked of marching on Milan instead of awaiting attack. But the problem of the destiny of Switzerland is not solely, or even mainly, a military problem ; and the forces which threaten to shape that destiny are only to a small extent military forces. Several influences are simultaneously at work altering the whole face of things in Switzerland. Sir Henry Lunn is a source of peril no less than the German Emperor ; and the full list, if not of perils, then of new facts which furnish food for thought, would be a long one. The sociologist who seeks to forecast the future of Switzerland must deduce his conclusions from these various premisses,—not all of them equally important, but no one of them negligible.

1. Switzerland is becoming, every year, less of an agricultural, and more of an industrial country. Large quantities of food have to be imported ; while the number of factory hands has more than doubled in five-and-twenty-years,—increasing from 134,856 in 1882 to 307,128 in 1907.

2. While the population of the country districts shows little increase, the population of the Swiss towns is increasing with extraordinary rapidity. 'Zurich,' our Diplomat tells us, 'has grown from 11,000 to 190,000 inhabitants in the course of half a century. During the same period, the population of Bâle has grown from 27,000 to 110,000, that of Berne from 27,000 to 65,000, that of Saint-Gall from 11,000 to 34,000, and that of Lausanne from 15,000 to 47,000.' If the same rate of increase should continue for another fifty years, the circumscribed area of Switzerland will clearly have to find accommodation for cities of the size of Bristol, Bradford, and Sheffield.

3. Modern inventions facilitating the use of water-power for industrial purposes, combined with the improvement and cheapening of the means of communication, encourage the creation of new industrial centres in places in which, only a few years ago, no one but the wildest of dreamers would have expected to see them spring up. The harnessed rivers and waterfalls in 1890 only furnished about 4000 horse-power. They furnished 100,000 horse-power in 1901, and 210,000 horse-power in 1907. It was estimated that there then remained 513,000 horse-power available but unexploited; and there is reason to believe that that was what people call a 'conservative' conjecture. The power of the same stream can, of course, be used over and over again at different points in its course; and there are, in particular in the Rhône valley and its many tributary valleys, abundant opportunities for the creation of fresh factories dependent on the torrents. The factory at the mouth of the Zinal valley, opposite Sierre, is an example of what can be done.

4. The industrial development of Switzerland calls for a large supply of labour which Switzerland is unable to provide. The Swiss cultivate their own land, or follow trades, or seek engagements in the hotels: a result of their elaborate provision of technical education. Swiss farmhands, Swiss navvies, and Swiss stonemasons are hardly to be found. The farmhands mostly come from Austria, and the navvies and stonemasons from Italy. Where there is competition between native and foreign labour, the foreign labour is preferred by the employers. The Italians, it is found, work harder than the Swiss, and drink, strike, and grumble less. In theory, they

come when they are wanted and go when their work is done. But they are always wanted, so that there is always a large floating Italian population in Switzerland ; and a proportion of it ends by settling there.

5. The Swiss birth-rate is declining, and there is an appreciable amount of Swiss emigration. The decline in the birth-rate is more likely to be accelerated than checked ; for it is more noticeable in the towns than in the rural districts, and the proportion of the urban to the rural population is, as we have seen, increasing rapidly.

6. The startling increase in the population of the towns is largely due to foreign immigration. The English immigration, which merely constitutes colonies of persons of leisure in such places as Lausanne and Montreux, does not count. The immigration from Italy, France, and, above all, from Germany, counts for a great deal. The number of French immigrants in the country increased between 1888 and 1900 from 53,000 to 58,000 ; while the number of German immigrants during the same period increased from 112,000 to 168,000. The figures relating to years subsequent to 1900 are still more impressive. In Zurich alone, at the present time, there are about 60,000 Germans ; in Bâle there are about as many more. The total number of Germans now domiciled in Switzerland is computed at about 300,000 ; and still they come. It is quite a new phenomenon, for the census of 1838 showed only a percentage of 2.45 foreigners in the country. The existing conditions and tendencies are illustrated by the Diplomat in a quotation which he makes from a speech recently delivered by M. Virgile Rossel, President of the National Council :

‘ In 1888 (said M. Rossel) at the time of the last Federal Census foreigners formed less than 8 per cent. of the Swiss population. The census of 1900 showed that we had 12 per cent. of foreigners : a proportion not to be found in any other European country, and one which increases every year. It has been calculated that, in twelve years, while the native population only increased by 9 per cent., the foreign population increased by 67 per cent., and that, if the same rate of increase should continue, the foreigners would constitute 17 per cent. of the Swiss population in 1912 and 24 per cent. in 1924 ; and there are no indications that the rate of increase will relax.’

Whereto the Diplomat adds, from other sources, that there were 450,000 foreigners in Switzerland in 1910, as against

382,000 in 1900, and that in the frontier towns (Bâle, Geneva, Schaffhausen, and Lugano) from 40 to 48 per cent. of the inhabitants are foreigners.

7. The *Fremden Industrie*, or *Industrie hôtelière*, is increasing by leaps and bounds. The number of hotels for tourists (as distinguished from commercial hotels) increased from 1002 in the year 1880 to 1924 in the year 1905. The number of beds, during the same period, increased from 58,137 to 124,068; the number of employés from 16,022 to 33,480; the amount of capital invested in the industry from 312,500,000 francs to 777,507,000 francs. The figures are taken from M. Dauzat, who takes them from the *Société des Hôteliers*; and he adds some even more impressive figures illustrating the rise of the industry in particular localities. At Zermatt, for example:

'Until 1839 the curé boarded—for one franc a day, wine included,—the few naturalists or Englishmen who ventured into the neighbourhood. At that date Dr. Lauber opened the first inn with three beds, and entertained an average of ten or twelve travellers annually. In 1855 Alexander Seiler, the founder of the hotel industry in the Valais, opened a hotel containing 35 beds and entertained 500 tourists in the course of a year. In 1869 the figures were three hotels, 176 beds, and 4500 tourists; in 1884, five hotels, 530 beds, 12,440 tourists. The supply was creating the demand. In 1897 the railway was opened and brought 46,082 tourists to Zermatt; soon afterwards the additional attraction of the Zermatt-Gornergrat line raised the number to 50,050. Then new hotels were built, some modest, and others luxurious. In 1904 there were 72,956 visitors; in 1906 there were 94,676.'

And even that figure has been far exceeded during the subsequent six years.

8. All the facts set forth above are being closely watched by the Pan-Germanists in the hope that it may presently be possible for them to exploit the situation to their advantage.

Such are the premisses, with a selection from the evidence which can be cited in support of them. No one who has read the summary and grasped the significance of the details can feel confident that the Switzerland of the future will bear much resemblance to the Switzerland of the past, or even of the present. The case is not at all like that of France, where the tendencies which are sometimes alleged to be making for disruption and decay encounter the resistance of a solid population of 40,000,000 people. The population of Switzerland, at the

census of 1910, was only 3,738,600. The forces at work are out of all proportion to the resistance which is likely to be presented to them ; and thoughtful Swiss citizens are consequently asking themselves : How long will the inhabitants of Switzerland continue to be Swiss ? Will the development of Swiss manufacturing industries transform Switzerland into a kind of Lancashire ? Will the development of the *Fremden Industrie* make of Switzerland a kind of International Exhibition, with illuminated waterfalls, and snowpeaks accessible by electric railways as the side-shows ? Will the octopus of Pan-Germanism grip Switzerland with its far-flung tentacles, and absorb it as a German province ?

These are unpleasant questions ; and it is difficult to meet them with re-assuring answers. The Rhône valley is narrow, and not very long ; and the free use of its water-power for industrial purposes might quickly give it the appearance of a buzzing hive of industry—a kind of Lancashire, as has been suggested, albeit a cleaner kind than ours, with little Prestons, and Oldhams, and Burnleys, and Runcorns, dotted at short intervals along the banks of the Rhône, and tending to meet and join hands. There are, at any rate, prophets who, sadly or gleefully according to their temperaments, foretell that fate for this picturesque region ; and no one who remembers that Ypres was once such a place as Manchester, and that Manchester was once of less account than Ypres, will question the possibility of such an evolution. If the contingency is not likely to be realised to-morrow, or even the day after to-morrow, it is not unlikely to be realised at a time which many among us may live to see. An optimist can only say that the tendencies are not yet so pronounced as to remove all possibilities of doubt and all grounds for hope.

In the case of the *Fremden Industrie*, however, the case is different. There the forces are visibly at work, and the results already apparent : results which affect alike the look of the country, and the manners and character of the people. One can confidently infer what will happen from what has happened, and can see that the Swiss have set in motion machinery which they have not the power, even if they have the will, to stop. *Exceptis excipiendis*, they have always been distinguished as a race less by high aims than by ingenuity and perseverance in adapting such means as are at their disposal

to such aims as they have. They have deliberately set themselves the task of treating the snowpeaks, the glaciers, and the waterfalls of their country as 'natural resources' to be exploited for profit; and they have exploited them with a thoroughness to which M. Dauzat devotes many eloquent pages, building palatial hotels at all the famous points of view, griddling their mountains with railways, cutting broad paths through their forests, opening *Bureaux de Renseignements* everywhere, advertising in all the newspapers and on all the hoardings of all the countries of the world.

And the advertisements have been answered as advertisements have never been answered before in the whole history of advertising. It is as if Switzerland had advertised for a monster, and the monster had not only been procured but had got out of hand: as if an excess of utilitarianism had brought its own Nemesis on the heads of the utilitarians. Striking figures illustrative of the process have already been quoted; but a few further descriptive facts are needed in order that the full significance of the figures may be perceived. In order to realise exactly what they mean it is necessary to remember not only that Switzerland is a small country but also that the centres to which tourists flock constitute only a small portion of Switzerland. A record of a Swiss tour in the old days when communications were difficult always gives an impression of a country, if not of immense, at least of appreciable, distances. Valleys seemed to be separated from each other by almost insuperable barriers; men thought that they were travelling far because they were travelling slowly. But the Swiss distances are, in truth, very short, as a brief statement of fact with regard to the distances in one of the districts most popular with tourists will quickly show.

Let us take as our example that region of the Bernese Oberland of which Interlaken is the centre; a region to which tourists flock because it comprehends all the most characteristic features of Swiss scenery. Interlaken stands, as all the world knows, on the isthmus between the Lakes of Thun and Brienz, at the opening of the valleys which lead to Lauterbrunnen, Grindelwald, the Wetterhorn, and the Jungfrau. The size of the Lake of Thun is such that a good walker can walk round it in a day; the size of the Lake of Brienz is such that a moderate walker can walk round it in a day. One can walk from Inter-

laken to Grindelwald between lunch and dinner ; one can walk from Interlaken to Lauterbrunnen between lunch and afternoon tea. The distance from Lauterbrunnen to Grindelwald over the famous Little Scheideck is only eleven miles. From the Little Scheideck one practically steps on to the Jungfrau.

Even for pedestrians, it will be observed, these distances are insignificant ; and the area is one within which the presence of a mob is bound to produce an impression. The fact that all the distances can be covered by railway adds force to the impression, and tends to augment the mob. New hotels have continually to be built for the accommodation of the mob, and new amusements have to be devised for their diversion. The inevitable tendency is for the Interlaken neighbourhood, once the delight of all quiet lovers of wild nature, to become a sort of Vanity Fair : an International Exhibition with a central bazaar, innumerable side-shows, and every facility for visiting them.

That, in fact, is what it is becoming, and has already very nearly become. Interlaken has grown to be a big town, and is still growing. One is hardly out of Interlaken before one is in one of its suburbs : Unterseen, or Wilderswyl, or Bönigen—all of them throwing up hotels which rival those of Interlaken itself in grandeur. Standing in the streets of Interlaken at night, one sees the glaring lights of no fewer than four hotels erected on the summits of four high mountains : the Niesen, the Schynige Platte, the Harderkulm, and the Brienzer Rothhorn. From some of them searchlights are thrown on to the plain and lakes. Out of sight, but nevertheless near at hand, there are five funiculars giving access either to waterfalls, which are regularly illuminated with Bengal lights, or to remarkable points of view : those of Mürren, the Giessbach, the Reichenbach, the Heimwehfluh, and Beatenberg. There is also an aerial line at Grindelwald to a point of view on the Wetterhorn, and (of course) the Jungfrau line, which has now reached the Jungfrauoch.

Nor does the work of 'development' show any sign of cessation either above the snowline or below it. An enormous hotel and restaurant is to be built at the Jungfrauoch station ; and the line, unless expense forbids (and it probably will not), is to be pushed on to the summit of the mountain. There is talk of a branch line through the glacier world from the Jungfrauoch to the Eggishorn ; there is talk of a line along the

top of the Hardergrat from the Harderkulm station to the top of the Brienzer Rothhorn. A tram-line is presently to be laid along the road from Thun to Interlaken, which is to be widened to make room for it. Thun itself is to have an immense new railway station ; and the little Lake of Brienz is to have a railway line on one bank and a broad high road on the other.

The development has followed the lines of the somewhat earlier development of Lucerne ; and the imitation of that example has been inspired by an appreciative perception of its material results. The attractions, it was seen, did attract, in spite of the noisy objections of the people who protested that they wanted to be quiet ; just as the bands and booths at Earl's Court and Shepherd's Bush allure people who are indifferent to the prospects and open spaces of Richmond Park. Moreover, the first experiments having been justified by success, the process of transforming Switzerland into an International Exhibition is being continued simultaneously at several centres, and will scarcely cease in our time. The Heimatschutz objects and resists, and now and again scores a point, as when it stopped the construction of the projected Matterhorn railway ; but the influence of the Heimatschutz is limited. It wins battles ; but it loses the campaign. The assault, beaten back at one point, is always renewed elsewhere. Some of the threatened points have been indicated ; but there are others. One menace is a sledge-funicular to the top of the Aletschhorn ; a second is a line from Gryon to the top of the Diablerets.

One could easily continue, but these typical facts suffice. They show clearly what the tourist Switzerland of the future will be like : a place of stage-managed entertainments, in which the most extravagant absurdities suggested by Daudet in 'Tartarin sur les Alpes' will be commonplace materialised facts ; a place from which the devotees of the simple life will be crowded out by gaudy 'rastas' from the Brazils, and incredible Jewesses from Frankfurt ; a place in which we may expect to see the glaciers, as well as the benches on the promenades, marked 'réservés aux étrangers,' and 'Lebensfahr' painted in large letters across the face of treacherous precipices.

To the old-fashioned Swiss, who derive no direct profit from it, the idea of such things seems odious ; but the change itself seems to be creating, as it proceeds, a corresponding change in the character of large sections of the Swiss people.

The life of a hotel-keeper, a hotel employé, or a showman of any sort, tends to the rapid wearing down of racial characteristics, and the substitution therefor of a queer, colourless, and somewhat cringing cosmopolitanism. The definite Switzer, living in these conditions, is gradually transformed into an indefinite waiter; and the better Swiss know it and gnash their teeth over it. Hence their contemptuous description of Montreux as 'une ville de marchands de soupe,' and their failure to see any fun in the untrue story that a traveller quelled the Ticino Revolution by shouting 'Waiter!' from the carriage window. They feel that the *Fremden Industrie*, by thus weakening the fibres of the national character, will presently weaken their power of resisting Pan-Germanist pressure.

That danger is one of which a good many of them are evidently very much afraid. They cannot conceal their fears, and they do not always deny them. The very violence with which they resent Pan-Germanist suggestions is an indication of their nervous anxiety. It happened, not so long ago, that a certain professor at Berne allowed himself, in an unguarded moment of expansive enthusiasm for German culture, to speak of Switzerland as 'a province of Germany.' The result was such a 'charivari' (or cats' concert), first in his lecture-room, and afterwards in the garden of his private residence, that he had to apologise and explain that he had only intended to convey that German-speaking Switzerland was, in his opinion, a portion of the German-speaking world: a sentiment, of course, as meaningless as it was innocent.

The story proves, of course, that Pan-Germanism is unpopular in Switzerland; but it also proves that Pan-Germanism is taken seriously and causes apprehension. The proof was renewed, though the nature of the demonstration was different, last summer, when the German Emperor crossed the frontier to be the guest of the President of the Confederation at the manœuvres. The Swiss Press was, on the whole, polite—it was evidently felt in the offices of the more responsible journals that the reputation of Swiss manners was at issue; but the politeness was of a distinctively Germanophobe cast; and there were some journals, not altogether uninfluential, which even neglected to be courteous. It was emphatically reiterated in such organs as the 'Journal de Genève' and the 'Gazette de Lausanne' that the Kaiser's reception had no more political

significance than the reception of M. Fallières ; that he was received as an equal, and not as a superior, as a neighbour, not as a protector or an ally ; that no fine words which he might speak would butter any parsnips, or modify the Swiss dissatisfaction with the Gothard Convention. Even in official speeches, the stress laid upon the determination of Switzerland to maintain her neutrality and independence against any aggression, in the face of any odds, read like a thinly veiled hint to a guest who had ' played up for ' an invitation which would not have been spontaneously given ; while the ' *Nouvelliste Vaudois* ' declined to be gagged, and spoke out bluntly.

' *Néfasté* ' was the epithet which that organ applied to the Gothard Convention which established German control over a Swiss State Railway. It declared certain details of the German fiscal system to be specifically designed to make Switzerland a German ' tributary.' It denounced far-reaching ulterior motives in a recent German proposal that German consuls should be charged with the protection of Swiss commercial interests wherever Switzerland had no consular representative of her own. Speaking of the portentous increase in the number of German immigrants, it pointed out that the Germans were ' sufficiently cunning and tenacious to grasp ' the significance of that state of things and extract every ' possible advantage from it ' ; and it concluded :

' This work of " economic penetration," patient, persevering, and sometimes rather brutal in its methods, is untiringly carried on ; while Pan-Germanist propaganda dreams of a " greater Germany," and represents Switzerland as " a German dependency." Do not all these facts warrant an anxiety as to the future which is only too legitimate ?

' In view of all these considerations, the welcome accorded by the Swiss people and their representatives to their imperial host should not pass the point of simple dignity. It would be very regrettable if the Swiss people, by associating themselves too enthusiastically with the demonstrations of the 300,000 Germans who live in Switzerland, and the thousands who have flocked to Switzerland for the occasion, should give the impression that their enthusiasm for Greater Germany is more to them than their Republican traditions.'

What the ' *Nouvelliste Vaudois* ' said was given a wider publicity by quotation, without any suggestion of dissent, in the columns of the ' *Journal de Genève*.' It had evidently said what the ' *Journal de Genève* ' was too polite to say but

wished to hear said by others. The tirade expressed its own sentiments with emphatic dots on all the i's ; and it was not in French-speaking Switzerland only, but in German-speaking Switzerland as well, that those i's were dotted. The same line was taken, less hysterically and more philosophically, in a pamphlet by a Herr Schmidt, a Zurich professor, which was on sale in the Zurich shops at the very time when the German Emperor and the Swiss President were exchanging compliments and toasts.

The danger, for Professor Schmidt, is the unnaturalised alien—unnaturalised, it appears, largely because naturalisation confers rights to poor-law assistance which would be an inconvenient burden on the Swiss Exchequer. The number of such aliens alarms him, and he looks ahead :

‘ In twenty years time (he writes), when we are submerged by foreigners, and the question of naturalising them *en masse* has to be faced, they will be so numerous, and so strongly supported by their country, that they will be able to oppose a victorious resistance to any action that the legislature may take. Moreover, they will form a majority ; for many natives, being economically dependent on them, and constituting their *clientèle* in the strict etymological sense of that word, will have neither the power nor the desire to counteract their influence, but will join them, and swell their ranks.

‘ If the process is not stopped in time, the union of Switzerland with Germany will be brought about automatically. The Germans, after occupying all the avenues which conduct to power, will demand the political rights of which they are to-day deprived. They will demand them, and they will get them.’

The Professor has no doubts as to how those rights will be used, for he proceeds :

‘ Germany will be clever enough to let her new province enjoy a large measure of autonomy. But the cost of administration, already so costly in Switzerland, will be assumed by the Empire. . . . The army, the customs, the railways, the post offices will be German. The Cantonal administrations will be replaced by the more centralised administration of the German province.’

So we see the Zurich Professor employing in sorrowful prophecy the very words which got the Berne Professor into trouble when he uttered them under the influence of the communicative warmth of a banquet. The problem of Switzerland is, for him, precisely the problem which proved too

difficult for the Transvaal Republic : a problem of Outlanders, resolved to ' run ' the country of their adoption and backed by the country of their origin. The problem is not yet acute, but it will soon become so. Not only is the proportion of Outlanders to burghers annually increasing ; the rate of increase is also annually accelerated. The computation that a quarter of the population will consist of Outlanders in 1924 will probably prove to be under the mark ; a larger proportion of the Outlanders than of the natives will be men of influence ; and it would betoken over-confidence in human virtue to expect that the Kaiser will take the same chivalrous interest in the rights of the burghers of Switzerland which he professed to take in those of the burghers of South Africa.

Nor will an Outlander question, when it comes, be anything new in the history of Switzerland. The history of Geneva in particular is full of Outlander questions. Revolution after revolution has been brought about by them ; and almost every revolution has entailed French intervention. An Outlander question in the district which embraces such commercial centres as Bâle and Zurich would almost infallibly entail a similar intervention on the part of Germany ; and the result of such intervention would be far more thorough and lasting. There would be no need or excuse for intervention, of course, if Germans, when they left Germany, left patriotism behind, and acquired a preference for Republican institutions. Then they would strengthen Switzerland ; but the prevailing impression of the Swiss is that they are weakening it.

Germany, we may be reasonably sure, will be in no great hurry to move. There certainly will be no mistakes analogous to that of the Jameson Raid. Nor is it likely that Germany will proceed against Switzerland as against Denmark. To do so would be, at once, to tempt Providence and fling down a foolish challenge to France. The neutrality of Switzerland is guaranteed ; and, as against armed aggression, the guarantee is serious and likely to be efficacious. But there is no guarantee, and there can be none, against that economic and pacific penetration which is exciting the alarm of the Swiss, or against the consequences which it is almost sure presently to carry in the shape of commercial and other treaties, which may, in their turn, pave the way to a completer union.

The danger is, in short, that the Swiss population of Switzer-

land will be swamped by the German population—more particularly in the large towns in which political issues can be settled over the heads of the peasantry. That danger is not only actual but visibly imminent ; and, if it be left to mature slowly, then, when it comes to a head, the guarantees of Swiss neutrality and independence will not be worth the paper on which they are written. For the question of Swiss independence will then present itself in a new shape : ‘ Why should not ‘ a country conterminous with Germany, chiefly inhabited by ‘ Germans who desire German protection, be allowed to be ‘ incorporated with Germany on the same terms as the kingdoms ‘ of Bavaria and Würtemberg ? ’

Why not, indeed ? It will be very difficult for the Powers to whom the question presents itself to answer it : very difficult for them to do anything beyond demanding compensation for themselves in those parts of Switzerland in which the foreign infiltration, instead of being German, has been Italian or French, and so proposing that Switzerland shall go the way of Poland. It would be a lamentable end to a very interesting experiment in self-government ; but it may nevertheless be the price which Switzerland will have to pay, before its young men are old, for an industrial development which has outrun the natural growth of the population, and made it to such a large extent a colony, as it were, in which foreigners settle too fast to be absorbed.

FRANCIS GRIBBLE.

MADAME DU DEFFAND

1. *Lettres de la Marquise du Deffand à Horace Walpole (1766-1780).* Première Edition complète, augmentée d'environ 500 Lettres inédites, publiées d'après les originaux, avec une introduction, des notes, et une table des noms, par Mrs. PAGET TOYNBEE. 3 vols. Methuen. 1912.
2. *Letters of the Marquise du Deffand to the Hon. Horace Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, from the year 1766 to the year 1780.* Published from the originals at Strawberry Hill. 4 vols. London. 1810.
3. *Correspondance complète de la Marquise du Deffand avec ses Amis, le Président Hénault, Montesquieu, d'Alembert, Voltaire, Horace Walpole.* 2 vols. Henri Plon. Paris: 1865.
4. *Correspondance complète de la Marquise du Deffand avec la Duchesse de Choiseul, l'Abbé Barthélemy et M. Crawford.* 3 vols. Michel Lévy. Paris: 1866.

WHEN Napoleon was starting for his campaign in Russia, he ordered the proof-sheets of a forthcoming book, about which there had been some disagreement among the censors of the press, to be put into his carriage, so that he might decide for himself what suppressions it might be necessary to make. 'Je m'ennuie en route; je lirai ces volumes, et j'écirai de Mayence ce qu'il y aura à faire.' The volumes thus chosen to beguile the imperial leisure between Paris and Mayence contained the famous correspondence of Madame du Deffand with Horace Walpole. By the Emperor's command a few excisions were made, and the book—reprinted from Miss Berry's original edition which had appeared two years earlier in England—was published almost at once. The sensation in Paris was immense; the excitement of the Russian campaign itself was half-forgotten; and for some time the blind old inhabitant of the Convent of Saint Joseph held her own as a subject of conversation with the burning of Moscow and the passage of the Berezina. We cannot wonder that this was so. In the Parisian drawing-room of those days the letters of Madame du Deffand must have exercised a double fascination—on the one hand as a mine of gossip about numberless persons and events still familiar to many a living memory, and, on the other, as a detailed and brilliant record of a state

of society which had already ceased to be actual and become historical. The letters were hardly more than thirty years old ; but the world which they depicted in all its intensity and all its singularity—the world of the old régime—had vanished for ever into limbo. Between it and the eager readers of the First Empire a gulf was fixed—a narrow gulf, but a deep one, still hot and sulphurous with the volcanic fires of the Revolution. Since then a century has passed ; the gulf has widened ; and the vision which these curious letters show us to-day seems hardly less remote—from some points of view, indeed, even more—than that which is revealed to us in the *Memoirs* of Cellini or the correspondence of Cicero. Yet the vision is not simply one of a strange and dead antiquity : there is a personal and human element in the letters which gives them a more poignant interest, and brings them close to ourselves. The soul of man is not subject to the rumour of periods ; and these pages, impregnated though they be with the abolished life of the eighteenth century, can never be out of date.

A fortunate chance enables us now, for the first time, to appreciate them in their completeness. The late Mrs. Paget Toynbee, while preparing her edition of Horace Walpole's letters, came upon the trace of the original manuscripts, which had long lain hidden in obscurity in a country house in Staffordshire. The publication of these manuscripts in full, accompanied by notes and indexes in which Mrs. Toynbee's well-known accuracy, industry and tact are everywhere conspicuous, is an event of no small importance to lovers of French literature. A great mass of new and deeply interesting material makes its appearance. The original edition produced by Miss Berry in 1810, from which all the subsequent editions were reprinted with varying degrees of inaccuracy, turns out to have contained nothing more than a comparatively small fraction of the whole correspondence ; of the 838 letters published by Mrs. Toynbee, 485 are entirely new, and of the rest only 52 were printed by Miss Berry in their entirety. Miss Berry's edition was, in fact, simply a selection, and as a selection it deserves nothing but praise. It skims the cream of the correspondence ; and it faithfully preserves the main outline of the story which the letters reveal. No doubt that was enough for the readers of that generation ; indeed, even for the more exacting reader of to-day, there is something a

little overwhelming in the closely packed 2000 pages of Mrs. Toynbee's volumes. Enthusiasm alone will undertake to grapple with them, but enthusiasm will be rewarded. In place of the truthful summary of the earlier editions, we have now the truth itself—the truth in all its subtle gradations, all its long-drawn-out suspensions, all its intangible and irremediable obscurities: it is the difference between a clear-cut drawing in black-and-white and a finished painting in oils. Probably Miss Berry's edition will still be preferred by the ordinary reader who wishes to become acquainted with a celebrated figure in French literature; but Mrs. Toynbee's will always be indispensable for the historical student, and invaluable for anyone with the leisure, the patience, and the taste for a detailed and elaborate examination of a singular adventure of the heart.

The Marquise du Deffand was perhaps the most typical representative of that phase of civilisation which came into existence in Western Europe during the early years of the eighteenth century, and reached its most concentrated and characteristic form about the year 1750 in the drawing-rooms of Paris. She was supremely a woman of her age; but it is important to notice that her age was the first, and not the second, half of the eighteenth century: it was the age of the Regent Orleans, Fontenelle, and the young Voltaire; not that of Rousseau, the Encyclopaedia, and the Patriarch of Ferney. It is true that her letters to Walpole, to which her fame is mainly due, were written between 1766 and 1780; but they are the letters of an old woman, and they bear upon every page of them the traces of a mind to which the whole movement of contemporary life was profoundly distasteful. The new forces to which the eighteenth century gave birth in thought, in art, in sentiment, in action—which for us form its peculiar interest and its peculiar glory—were anathema to Madame du Deffand. In her letters to Walpole, whenever she compares the present with the past her bitterness becomes extreme. 'J'ai eu autrefois,' she writes in 1778, 'des plaisirs indicibles aux opéras de Quinault et de Lulli, et au jeu de Thévenart et de la Lemaure. Pour aujourd'hui, tout me paraît détestable: acteurs, auteurs, musiciens, beaux esprits, philosophes, tout est de mauvais goût, tout est affreux, affreux.' That great movement towards intellectual and

political emancipation which centred in the 'Encyclopaedia' and the *Philosophes* was the object of her particular destestation. She saw Diderot once—and that was enough for both of them. She could never understand why it was that M. de Voltaire would persist in wasting his talent for writing over such a dreary subject as religion. Turgot, she confessed, was an honest man, but he was also a 'sot animal.' His dismissal from office—that fatal act, which made the French Revolution inevitable—delighted her: she concealed her feelings from Walpole, who admired him, but she was outspoken enough to the Duchesse de Choiseul. 'Le renvoi du Turgot me plaît 'extrêmement,' she wrote; 'tout me paraît en bon train.' And then she added, more prophetically than she knew, 'Mais, 'assurément, nous n'en resterons pas là.' No doubt her dislike of the Encyclopaedists and all their works was in part a matter of personal pique—the result of her famous quarrel with Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, under whose opposing banner d'Alembert and all the intellectual leaders of Parisian society had unhesitatingly ranged themselves. But that quarrel was itself far more a symptom of a deeply rooted spiritual antipathy than a mere vulgar struggle for influence between two rival *salonnières*. There are indications that, even before it took place, the elder woman's friendship for d'Alembert was giving way under the strain of her scorn for his advanced views and her hatred of his proselytising cast of mind. 'Il y a de certains articles,' she complained to Voltaire in 1763—a year before the final estrangement—'qui sont 'devenus pour lui affaires de parti, et sur lesquels je ne lui 'trouve pas le sens commun.' The truth is that d'Alembert and his friends were moving, and Madame du Deffand was standing still. Mademoiselle de Lespinasse simply precipitated and intensified an inevitable rupture. She was the younger generation knocking at the door.

Madame du Deffand's generation had, indeed, very little in common with that ardent, hopeful, speculative, sentimental group of friends who met together every evening in the drawing-room of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse. Born at the close of the seventeenth century, she had come into the world in the brilliant days of the Regent, whose witty and licentious reign had suddenly dissipated the atmosphere of gloom and bigotry imposed upon society by the moribund Court of

Louis XIV. For a fortnight (so she confessed to Walpole) she was actually the Regent's mistress; and a fortnight, in those days, was a considerable time. Then she became the intimate friend of Madame de Prie—the singular woman who, for a moment, on the Regent's death, during the government of M. le Duc, controlled the destinies of France, and who committed suicide when that amusement was denied her. During her early middle-age Madame du Deffand was one of the principal figures in the palace of Sceaux, where the Duchesse du Maine, the grand-daughter of the great Condé and the daughter-in-law of Louis XIV, kept up for many years an almost royal state among the most distinguished men and women of the time. It was at Sceaux, with its endless succession of entertainments and conversations—supper-parties and water-parties, concerts and masked balls, plays in the little theatre and picnics under the great trees of the park—that Madame du Deffand came to her maturity, and established her position as one of the leaders of the society in which she moved. The nature of that society is plainly enough revealed in the letters and the memoirs that have come down to us. The days of formal pomp and vast representation had ended for ever when the 'Grand Monarque' was no longer to be seen strutting, in periwig and red-heeled shoes, down the glittering gallery of Versailles; the intimacy and seclusion of modern life had not yet begun. It was an intermediate period, and the comparatively small group formed by the élite of the rich, refined, and intelligent classes led an existence in which the elements of publicity and privacy were curiously combined. Never, certainly, before or since, have any set of persons lived so absolutely and unreservedly with and for their friends as these high ladies and gentlemen of the middle years of the eighteenth century. The circle of one's friends was, in those days, the framework of one's whole being, within which was to be found all that life had to offer, and outside of which no interest, however fruitful, no passion, however profound, no art, however soaring, was of the slightest account. Thus while in one sense the ideal of such a society was an eminently selfish one, it is none the less true that there have been very few societies indeed in which the ordinary forms of personal selfishness have played so small a part. The selfishness of the eighteenth century was a communal selfishness. Each

individual was expected to practise, and did in fact practise to a consummate degree, those difficult arts which make the wheels of human intercourse run smoothly—the arts of tact and temper, of frankness and sympathy, of delicate compliment and exquisite self-abnegation—with the result that a condition of living was produced which, in all its superficial and obvious qualities, was one of unparalleled amenity. Indeed, those persons who were privileged to enjoy it showed their appreciation of it in an unequivocal way—by the tenacity with which they clung to the scene of such delights and graces. They refused to grow old; they almost refused to die. Time himself seems to have joined their circle, to have been infected with their politeness, and to have absolved them, to the furthest possible point, from the operation of his laws. Voltaire, d'Argental, Moncrif, Hénault, Madame d'Egmont, Madame du Deffand herself—all were born within a few years of each other, and all lived to be well over eighty, with the full zest of their activities unimpaired. Pont-de-Veyle, it is true, died young—at the age of seventy-seven. Another contemporary, Richelieu, who was famous for his adventures while Louis XIV was still on the throne, lived till within a year of the opening of the States-General. More typical still of this singular and fortunate generation was Fontenelle, who, one morning in his hundredth year, quietly observed that he felt a difficulty in existing, and forthwith, even more quietly, ceased to do so.

Yet, though the wheels of life rolled round with such an alluring smoothness, they did not roll of themselves; the skill and care of trained mechanics were needed to keep them going; and the task was no light one. Even Fontenelle himself, fitted as he was for it by being blessed (as one of his friends observed) with two brains and no heart, realised to the full the hard conditions of social happiness. 'Il y a peu de choses,' he wrote, 'aussi difficiles et aussi dangereuses que le commerce des hommes.' The sentence, true for all ages, was particularly true for his own. The graceful, easy motions of that gay company were those of dancers balanced on skates, gliding, twirling, interlacing, over the thinnest ice. Those drawing-rooms, those little circles, so charming with the familiarity of their privacy, were themselves the rigorous abodes of the deadliest kind of public opinion—the kind that lives and glitters in a score of penetrating eyes. They required in their votaries

the absolute submission that reigns in religious orders—the willing sacrifice of the entire life. The intimacy of personal passion, the intensity of high endeavour—these things must be left behind and utterly cast away by all who would enter that narrow sanctuary. Friendship might be allowed there, and flirtation disguised as love ; but the overweening and devouring influence of love itself should never be admitted to destroy the calm of daily intercourse and absorb into a single channel attentions due to all. Politics were to be tolerated, so long as they remained a game ; so soon as they grew serious and envisaged the public good, they became insufferable. As for literature and art, though they might be excellent as subjects for recreation and good talk, what could be more preposterous than to treat such trifles as if they had a value of their own ? Only one thing ; and that was to indulge, in the day-dreams of religion or philosophy, the inward ardours of the soul. Indeed, the scepticism of that generation was the most uncompromising that the world has known ; for it did not even trouble to deny : it simply ignored. It presented a blank wall of perfect indifference alike to the mysteries of the universe and to the solutions of them. Madame du Deffand gave early proof that she shared to the full this propensity of her age. While still a young girl in a convent school, she had shrugged her shoulders when the nuns began to instruct her in the articles of their faith. The matter was considered serious, and the great Massillon, then at the height of his fame as a preacher and a healer of souls, was sent for to deal with the youthful heretic. She was not impressed by his arguments. In his person the generous fervour and the massive piety of an age that could still believe felt the icy and disintegrating touch of a new and strange indifference. ‘*Mais qu’elle est jolie !*’ he murmured as he came away. The Abbess ran forward to ask what holy books he recommended. ‘*Give her a threepenny ‘Catechism,’*’ was Massillon’s reply. He had seen that the case was hopeless.

An innate scepticism, a profound levity, an antipathy to enthusiasm that wavered between laughter and disgust, combined with an unswerving devotion to the exacting and arduous ideals of social intercourse—such were the characteristics of the brilliant group of men and women who had spent their youth at the Court of the Regent, and dallied out their middle age down the long avenues of Sceaux. About the middle of

the century the Duchesse du Maine died, and Madame du Deffand established herself in Paris at the Convent of Saint Joseph in a set of rooms which still showed traces—in the emblazoned arms over the great mantelpiece—of the occupation of Madame de Montespan. A few years later a physical affliction overtook her: at the age of fifty-seven she became totally blind; and this misfortune placed her, almost without a transition, among the ranks of the old. For the rest of her life she hardly moved from her drawing-room, which speedily became the most celebrated in Europe. The thirty years of her reign there fall into two distinct and almost equal parts. The first, during which d'Alembert was pre-eminent, came to an end with the violent expulsion of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse. During the second, which lasted for the rest of her life, her salon, purged of the Encyclopaedists, took on a more decidedly worldly tone; and the influence of Horace Walpole was supreme.

It is this final period of Madame du Deffand's life that is reflected so minutely in the famous correspondence which the labours of Mrs. Toynbee have now presented to us for the first time in its entirety. Her letters to Walpole form in effect a continuous journal covering the space of fifteen years (1766–1780). They allow us, on the one hand, to trace through all its developments the progress of an extraordinary passion, and on the other to examine, as it were under the microscope of perhaps the bitterest perspicacity on record, the last phase of a doomed society. For the circle which came together in her drawing-room during those years had the hand of death upon it. The future lay elsewhere; it was simply the past that survived there—in the rich trappings of fashion and wit and elaborate gaiety—but still irrevocably the past. The radiant creatures of Sceaux had fallen into the yellow leaf. We see them in these letters, a collection of elderly persons, trying hard to amuse themselves, and not succeeding very well. Pont-de-Veyle, the youthful septuagenarian, did perhaps succeed; for he never noticed what a bore he was becoming with his perpetual cough, and continued to go the rounds with indefatigable animation, until one day his cough was heard no more. Hénault—once notorious for his dinner-parties, and for having written an historical treatise—which, it is true, was worthless, but he had written it—Hénault was beginning to

dodder, and Voltaire, grinning in Ferney, had already dubbed him 'notre délabré Président.' Various dowagers were engaged upon various vanities. The Marquise de Boufflers was gambling herself to ruin; the Comtesse de Boufflers was wringing out the last drops of her reputation as the mistress of a Royal Prince. the Maréchale de Mirepoix was involved in shady politics; the Maréchale de Luxembourg was obliterating a highly dubious past by a scrupulous attention to 'bon ton,' of which, at last, she became the arbitress: 'Quel ton! Quel effroyable ton!' she is said to have exclaimed after a shuddering glance at the Bible; 'ah, Madame, quel dommage que le Saint Esprit eût aussi peu de goût!' Then there was the floating company of foreign diplomats, some of whom were invariably to be found at Madame du Deffand's: Caraccioli, for instance, the Neapolitan Ambassador—'je perds les trois quarts de ce qu'il dit,' she wrote, 'mais comme il en dit beaucoup, on peut supporter cette perte'; and Bernstorff, the Danish envoy, who became the fashion, was lauded to the skies for his wit and fine manners, until, says the malicious lady, 'à travers tous ces éloges, je m'avisai de l'appeler Puffendorf,' and Puffendorf the poor man remained for evermore. Besides the diplomats, nearly every foreign traveller of distinction found his way to the renowned *salon*; Englishmen were particularly frequent visitors; and among the familiar figures of whom we catch more than one glimpse in the letters to Walpole are Burke, Fox and Gibbon. Sometimes influential parents in England obtained leave for their young sons to be admitted into the centre of Parisian refinement. The English cub, fresh from Eton, was introduced by his tutor into the red and yellow drawing-room, where the great circle of a dozen or more elderly important persons, glittering in jewels and orders, pompous in powder and rouge, ranged in rigid order round the fireplace, followed with the precision of a perfect orchestra the leading word or smile or nod of an ancient Sibyl, who seemed to survey the company with her eyes shut, from a vast chair by the wall. It is easy to imagine the scene, in all its terrifying politeness. Madame du Deffand could not tolerate young people; she declared that she did not know what to say to them; and they, no doubt, were in precisely the same difficulty. To an English youth, unfamiliar with the language and shy as only English youths can be, a conversa-

tion with that redoubtable old lady must have been a grim ordeal indeed. One can almost hear the stumbling, pointless observations, almost see the imploring looks cast, from among the infinitely attentive company, towards the tutor, and the pink ears growing still more pink.

But such awkward moments were rare. As a rule the days flowed on in easy monotony—or rather, not the days, but the nights. For Madame du Deffand rarely rose till five o'clock in the evening; at six she began her reception; and at nine or half-past the central moment of the twenty-four hours arrived—the moment of supper. Upon this event the whole existence of Madame du Deffand hinged. Supper, she used to say, was one of the four ends of man, and what the other three were she could never remember. She lived up to her dictum. She had an income of £1400 a year, and of this she spent more than half—£720—on food. These figures should be largely increased to give them their modern values; but, economise as she might, she found that she could only just manage to rub along. Her parties varied considerably in size; sometimes only four or five persons sat down to supper—sometimes twenty or thirty. No doubt they were elaborate meals. In a moment of economy we find the hospitable lady making pious resolutions: she would no longer give ‘des repas’—only ordinary suppers for six people at the most, at which there should be served nothing more than two entrées, one roast, two sweets, and—mysterious addition—‘la pièce du milieu.’ This was certainly moderate for those days (Monsieur de Jonzac rarely provided fewer than fourteen entrées), but such resolutions did not last long. A week later she would suddenly begin to issue invitations wildly, and, day after day, her tables would be loaded with provisions for thirty guests. But she did not always have supper at home. From time to time she sallied forth in her vast coach, and rattled through the streets of Paris to one of her still extant dowagers—a Maréchale, or a Duchesse—or the more and more ‘délabré Président.’ There the same company awaited her as that which met in her own house; it was simply a change of decorations; often enough for weeks together she had supper every night with the same half-dozen persons. The entertainment, apart from the supper itself, hardly varied. Occasionally there was a little music, more often there were cards and gambling. Madame du Deffand disliked gambling, but she

loathed going to bed, and, if it came to a choice between the two, she did not hesitate : once, at the age of seventy-three, she sat up till seven o'clock in the morning playing vingt-et-un with Charles Fox. But distractions of that kind were merely incidental to the grand business of the night—the conversation. In the circle that, after an 'eight hours' sitting, broke up reluctantly at two or three every morning to meet again that same evening at six, talk continuously flowed. For those strange creatures it seemed to form the very substance of life itself. It was the underlying essence, the circumambient ether, in which alone the pulsations of existence had their being ; it was the one eternal reality ; men might come and men might go, but talk went on for ever. It is difficult, especially for those born under the Saturnine influence of an English sky, quite to realise the nature of such conversation. Brilliant, charming, easy-flowing, gay and rapid it must have been ; never profound, never intimate, never thrilling ; but also never emphatic, never affected, never languishing, and never dull. Madame du Deffand herself had a most vigorous flow of language. 'Écoutez ! Écoutez !' Walpole used constantly to exclaim, trying to get in his points ; but in vain ; the sparkling cataract swept on unheeding. And indeed to listen was the wiser part—to drink in deliciously the animation of those quick, illimitable, exquisitely articulated syllables, to surrender one's whole soul to the pure and penetrating precision of those phrases, to follow without a breath the happy swiftness of that fine-spun thread of thought. Then at moments her wit crystallised ; the cataract threw off a shower of radiant jewels, which one caught as one might. Some of these have come down to us. Her remark on Montesquieu's great book—'C'est de l'esprit sur les lois'—is an almost final criticism. Her famous 'mot de Saint Denis,' so dear to the heart of Voltaire, deserves to be once more recorded. A garrulous and credulous Cardinal was describing the martyrdom of Saint Denis the Areopagite : when his head was cut off, he took it up and carried it in his hands. That, said the Cardinal, was well known ; what was not well known was the extraordinary fact that he walked with his head under his arm all the way from Montmartre to the Church of Saint Denis—a distance of six miles. 'Ah, Monseigneur !' said Madame du Deffand, 'dans une telle situation, il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte.'

At two o'clock the brilliance began to flag ; the guests began to go ; the dreadful moment was approaching. If Madame de Gramont happened to be there, there was still some hope, for Madame de Gramont abhorred going to bed almost as much as Madame du Deffand. Or there was just a chance that the Duc de Choiseul might come in at the last moment, and stay on for a couple of hours. But at length it was impossible to hesitate any longer ; the chariot was at the door. She swept off, but it was still early : it was only half-past three ; and the coachman was ordered to drive about the Boulevards for an hour before going home.

It was, after all, only natural that she should put off going to bed, for she rarely slept for more than two or three hours. The greater part of that empty time, during which conversation was impossible, she devoted to her books. But she hardly ever found anything to read that she really enjoyed. Of the two thousand volumes she possessed—all bound alike, and stamped on the back with her device of a cat—she had only read four or five hundred ; the rest were impossible. She perpetually complained to Walpole of the extreme dearth of reading matter. In nothing, indeed, is the contrast more marked between that age and ours than in the quantity of books available for the ordinary reader. How the eighteenth century would envy us our innumerable novels, our biographies, our books of travel, all our easy approaches to knowledge and entertainment, our translations, our cheap reprints ! In those days, even for a reader of catholic tastes, there was really very little to read. And, of course, Madame du Deffand's tastes were far from catholic—they were fastidious to the last degree. She considered that Racine alone of writers had reached perfection, and that only once—in 'Athalie.' Corneille carried her away for moments, but on the whole he was barbarous. She highly admired ' quelques centaines de vers de M. de Voltaire.' She thought Richardson and Fielding excellent, and she was enraptured by the style—but only by the style—of 'Gil Blas.' And that was all. Everything else appeared to her either affected or pedantic or insipid. Walpole recommended to her a History of Malta ; she tried it, but she soon gave it up—it mentioned the Crusades. She began Gibbon, but she found him superficial. She tried Buffon, but he was ' d'une monotonie insupportable ; il sait bien ce qu'il sait, mais il ne

's'occupe que des bêtes ; il faut l'être un peu soi-même pour 'se dévouer à une telle occupation.' She got hold of the memoirs of Saint-Simon in manuscript, and these amused her enormously ; but she was so disgusted by the style that she was very nearly sick. At last, in despair, she embarked on a prose translation of Shakespeare. The result was unexpected : she was positively pleased. Coriolanus, it is true, 'me semble, 'sauf votre respect, épouvantable, et n'a pas le sens commun ' ; and 'pour La Tempête,' je ne suis pas touchée de ce genre.' But she was impressed by Othello ; she was interested by Macbeth ; and she admired Julius Caesar, in spite of its bad taste. At King Lear, indeed, she had to draw the line. 'Ah, mon Dieu ! Quelle pièce ! Réellement la trouvez-vous belle ? Elle 'me noircit l'âme à un point que je ne puis exprimer ; c'est un 'amas de toutes les horreurs infernales.' Her reader was an old soldier from the Invalides, who came round every morning early, and took up his position by her bedside. She lay back among the cushions, listening, for long hours. Was there ever a more incongruous company, a queerer trysting-place, for Goneril and Desdemona, Ariel and Lady Macbeth ?

Often, even before the arrival of the old pensioner, she was at work dictating a letter, usually to Horace Walpole, occasionally to Madame de Choiseul or Voltaire. Her letters to Voltaire are enchanting ; his replies are no less so ; and it is much to be regretted that the whole correspondence has never been collected together in chronological order, and published as a separate book. The slim volume would be, of its kind, quite perfect. There was no love lost between the two old friends : they could not understand each other ; Voltaire, alone of his generation, had thrown himself into the very vanguard of thought ; to Madame du Deffand progress had no meaning, and thought itself was hardly more than an unpleasant necessity. She distrusted him profoundly, and he returned the compliment. Yet neither could do without the other : through her, he kept in touch with one of the most influential circles in Paris ; and even she could not be insensible to the glory of corresponding with such a man. Besides, in spite of all their differences, they admired each other genuinely, and they were held together by the habit of a long familiarity. The result was a marvellous display of epistolary art. If they had liked each other any better, they never would have

troubled to write so well. They were on their best behaviour—exquisitely courteous and yet punctiliously at ease, like dancers in a minuet. His cajoleries are infinite ; his deft sentences, mingling flattery with reflection, have almost the quality of a caress. She replies in the tone of a worshipper, glancing lightly at a hundred subjects, purring out her ‘ Monsieur de Voltaire,’ and seeking his advice on literature and life. He rejoins in that wonderful strain of epicurean stoicism of which he alone possessed the secret : and so the letters go on. Sometimes one just catches the glimpse of a claw beneath the soft pad, a grimace under the smile of elegance ; and one remembers with a shock that, after all, one is reading the correspondence of a monkey and a cat.

Madame du Deffand’s style reflects, perhaps even more completely than that of Voltaire himself, the common-sense of the eighteenth century. Its precision is absolute. It is like a line drawn in one stroke by a master, with the prompt exactitude of an unerring subtlety. There is no breadth in it—no sense of colour and the concrete mass of things. One cannot wonder, as one reads her, that she hardly regretted her blindness. What did she lose by it ? Certainly not

‘ The sweet approach of even or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or Summer’s rose ’ ;

for what did she care for such particulars when her eyes were at their clearest ? Her perception was intellectual ; and to the penetrating glances of her mental vision the objects of the sensual world were mere irrelevance. The kind of writing produced by such a quality of mind may seem thin and barren to those accustomed to the wealth and variety of the Romantic school. Yet it will repay attention. The vocabulary is very small ; but every word is the right one ; this old lady of high society, who had never given a thought to her style, and wrote by the light of nature, was a past mistress of that most difficult of literary accomplishments—‘ l’art de dire ‘ en un mot tout ce qu’un mot peut dire.’ The object of all art is to make suggestions. The romantic artist attains that end by using a multitude of different stimuli, by calling up image after image, recollection after recollection, until the reader’s mind is filled and held by a vivid and palpable evocation ; the classic works by the contrary method of a fine

economy, and, ignoring everything but what is essential, trusts, by means of the exact propriety of his presentation, to produce the required effect. Madame du Deffand carries the classical ideal to its furthest point. She never strikes more than once, and she always hits the nail on the head. Such is her skill that she sometimes seems to beat the Romantics even on their own ground: her reticences make a deeper impression than all the dottings of their i's. The following passage from a letter to Walpole is characteristic:

‘ Nous eûmes une musique charmante, une dame qui joue de la harpe à merveille ; elle me fit tant de plaisir que j’eus du regret que vous ne l’entendissiez pas ; c’est un instrument admirable. Nous eûmes aussi un clavecin, mais quoiqu’il fût touché avec une grande perfection, ce n’est rien en comparaison de la harpe. Je fus fort triste toute la soirée ; j’avais appris en partant que M^{me}. de Luxembourg, qui était allée samedi à Montmorency pour y passer quinze jours, s’était trouvée si mal qu’on avait fait venir Tronchin, et qu’on l’avait ramenée le dimanche à huit heures du soir, qu’on lui croyait de l’eau dans la poitrine. L’ancienneté de la connaissance ; une habitude qui a l’air de l’amitié ; voir disparaître ceux avec qui l’on vit ; un retour sur soi-même ; sentir que l’on ne tient à rien, que tout fuit, que tout échappe, qu’on reste seule dans l’univers, et que malgré cela on craint de le quitter ; voilà ce qui m’occupait pendant la musique.’

Here are no coloured words, no fine phrases—only the most flat and ordinary expressions—‘ un instrument admirable ’—‘ une grande perfection ’—‘ fort triste.’ Nothing is described ; and yet how much is suggested ! The whole scene is conjured up—one does not know how ; one’s imagination is switched on to the right rails, as it were, by a look, by a gesture, and then left to run of itself. In the simple, faultless rhythm of that closing sentence, the trembling melancholy of the old harp seems to be lingering still.

While the letters to Voltaire show us nothing but the brilliant exterior of Madame du Deffand’s mind, those to Walpole reveal the whole state of her soul. The revelation is not a pretty one. Bitterness, discontent, pessimism, cynicism, boredom, regret, despair—these are the feelings that dominate every page. To a superficial observer Madame du Deffand’s lot must have seemed peculiarly enviable ; she was well off, she enjoyed the highest consideration, she possessed intellectual talents of the rarest kind which she had every opportunity of

displaying, and she was surrounded by a multitude of friends. What more could any one desire? The harsh old woman would have smiled grimly at such a question. 'A little 'appetite,' she might have answered. She was like a dyspeptic at a feast; the finer the dishes that were set before her, the greater her distaste; that spiritual gusto which lends a savour to the meanest act of living, and without which all life seems profitless, had gone from her for ever. Yet—and this intensified her wretchedness—though the banquet was loathsome to her, she had not the strength to tear herself away from the table. Once, in a moment of desperation, she had thoughts of retiring to a convent, but she soon realised that such an action was out of the question. Fate had put her into the midst of the world, and there she must remain. 'Je ne 'suis point assez heureuse,' she said, 'de me passer des choses 'dont je ne me soucie pas.' She was extremely lonely. As fastidious in friendship as in literature, she passed her life among a crowd of persons whom she disliked and despised. 'Je ne vois que des sots et des fripons,' she said; and she did not know which were the most disgusting. She took a kind of deadly pleasure in analysing 'les nuances des sottises' among the people with whom she lived. The varieties were many—from the foolishness of her companion, Mademoiselle Sanadon, who would do nothing but imitate her—'elle fait 'des définitions,' she wails—to that of the lady who hoped to prove her friendship by unending presents of grapes and pears—'comme je n'y tâte pas, cela diminue mes scrupules 'du peu de goût que j'ai pour elle.' Then there were those who were not quite fools but something very near it. 'Tous 'les Matignon sont des sots,' said somebody one day to the Regent, 'excepté le Marquis de Matignon.' 'Cela est vrai,' the Regent replied, 'il n'est pas sot, mais on voit bien qu'il est 'le fils d'un sot.' Madame du Deffand was an expert at tracing such affinities. For instance, there was Necker. It was clear that Necker was not a fool, and yet—what was it? Something was the matter—yes, she had it: he made you feel a fool yourself—'l'on est plus bête avec lui que l'on ne 'l'est tout seul.' As she said of herself: 'elle est toujours 'tentée d'arracher les masques qu'elle rencontre.' Those blind, piercing eyes of hers spied out unerringly the weakness or the ill-nature or the absurdity that lurked behind the

gravest or the most fascinating exterior ; then her fingers began to itch, and she could resist no longer—she gave way to her besetting temptation. It is impossible not to sympathise with Rousseau's remark about her—' J'aimai mieux encore ' m'exposer au fléau de sa haine qu'à celui de son amitié.' There, sitting in her great Diogenes-tub of an armchair—her ' tonneau ' as she called it—talking, smiling, scattering her bons mots, she went on through the night, in the remorseless secrecy of her heart, tearing off the masks from the faces that surrounded her. Sometimes the world in which she lived displayed itself before her horrified inward vision like some intolerable and meaningless piece of clock-work mechanism :

' J'admirais hier au soir la nombreuse compagnie qui était chez moi ; hommes et femmes me paraissaient des machines à ressorts, qui allaient, venaient, parlaient, riaient, sans penser, sans réfléchir, sans sentir ; chacun jouait son rôle par habitude : Madame la Duchesse d'Aiguillon crevait de rire, M^{me}. de Forcalquier dédaignait tout, M^{me}. de la Vallière jabotait sur tout. Les hommes ne jouaient pas de meilleurs rôles, et moi j'étais abîmée dans les reflexions les plus noires ; je pensai que j'avais passé ma vie dans les illusions ; que je m'étais creusée tous les abîmes dans lesquels j'étais tombée.'

At other times she could see around her nothing but a mass of mutual hatreds, into which she was plunged herself no less than her neighbours :

' Je ramenai la Maréchale de Mirepoix chez elle ; j'y descendis, je causai une heure avec elle ; je n'en fus pas mécontente. Elle haït la petite Idole, elle haït la Maréchale de Luxembourg ; enfin, sa haine pour tous les gens qui me déplaisent me fit lui pardonner l'indifférence et peut-être la haine qu'elle a pour moi. Convenez que voilà une jolie société, un charmant commerce.'

Once or twice for several months together she thought that she had found in the Duchesse de Choiseul a true friend and a perfect companion. But there was one fatal flaw even in Madame de Choiseul : she *was* perfect !—' Elle est parfaite ; ' et c'est un plus grand défaut qu'on ne pense et qu'on ne ' saurait imaginer.' At last one day the inevitable happened—she went to see Madame de Choiseul, and she was bored. ' Je ' rentrai chez moi à une heure, pénétrée, persuadée qu'on ne ' peut être content de personne.'

One person, however, there was who pleased her ; and it was the final irony of her fate that this very fact should have been the last drop that caused the cup of her unhappiness to over-

flow. Horace Walpole had come upon her at a psychological moment. Her quarrel with Mademoiselle de Lespinasse and the Encyclopaedists had just occurred ; she was within a few years of seventy ; and it must have seemed to her that, after such a break, at such an age, there was little left for her to do but to die quietly. Then the gay, talented, fascinating Englishman appeared, and she suddenly found that, so far from her life being over, she was embarked for good and all upon her greatest adventure. What she experienced at that moment was something like a religious conversion. Her past fell away from her a dead thing ; she was overwhelmed by an ineffable vision ; she, who had wandered for so many years in the ways of worldly indifference, was uplifted all at once on to a strange summit, and pierced with the intensest pangs of an unknown devotion. Henceforward her life was dedicated ; but, unlike the happier saints of a holier persuasion, she was to find no peace on earth. It was, indeed, hardly to be expected that Walpole, a blasé bachelor of fifty, should have reciprocated so singular a passion ; yet he might at least have treated it with gentleness and respect. The total impression of him which these letters produce is very damaging. It is true that he was in a difficult position ; and it is also true that, since only the merest fragments of his side of the correspondence have been preserved, our knowledge of the precise details of his conduct is incomplete ; nevertheless, it is clear that, on the whole, throughout the long and painful episode, the principal motive which actuated him was an inexcusable egoism. He was obsessed by a fear of ridicule. He knew that letters were regularly opened at the French Post Office, and he lived in terror lest some spiteful story of his absurd relationship with a blind old woman of seventy should be concocted and set afloat among his friends, or his enemies, in England which would make him the laughing-stock of society for the rest of his days. He was no less terrified by the intensity of the sentiment of which he had become the object. Thoroughly superficial and thoroughly selfish, immersed in his London life of dilettantism and gossip, the weekly letters from France with their burden of a desperate affection appalled him and bored him by turns. He did not know what to do ; and his perplexity was increased by the fact that he really liked Madame du Deffand—so far as he could like anyone—and also by the

fact that his vanity was highly flattered by her letters. Many courses were open to him, but the one he took was probably the most cruel that he could have taken : he insisted with an absolute rigidity on their correspondence being conducted in the tone of the most ordinary friendship—on those terms alone, he said, would he consent to continue it. And of course such terms were impossible to Madame du Deffand. She accepted them—what else could she do ?—but every line she wrote was a denial of them. Then, periodically, there was an explosion. Walpole stormed, threatened, declared he would write no more ; and on her side there were abject apologies, and solemn promises of amendment. Naturally, it was all in vain. A few months later he would be attacked by a fit of the gout, her solicitude would be too exaggerated, and the same fury was repeated, and the same submission. One wonders what the charm could have been that held that proud old spirit in such a miserable captivity. Was it his very coldness that subdued her ? If he had cared for her a little more, perhaps she would have cared for him a good deal less. But it is clear that what really bound her to him was the fact that they so rarely met. If he had lived in Paris, if he had been a member of her little clique, subject to the unceasing searchlight of her nightly scrutiny, who can doubt that, sooner or later, Walpole too would have felt ‘ *le fléau de son amitié* ’ ? His mask too would have been torn to tatters like the rest. But, as it was, his absence saved him ; her imagination clothed him with an almost mythic excellence ; his brilliant letters added to the impression ; and then, at intervals of about two years, he appeared in Paris for six weeks—just long enough to rivet her chains, and not long enough to loosen them. And so it was that she fell before him with that absolute and unquestioning devotion of which only the most dominating and fastidious natures are capable. Once or twice, indeed, she did attempt a revolt, but only succeeded in plunging herself into a deeper subjection. After one of his most violent and cruel outbursts, she refused to communicate with him further, and for three or four weeks she kept her word ; then she crept back and pleaded for forgiveness. Walpole graciously granted it. It is with some satisfaction that one finds him, a few weeks later, laid up with a peculiarly painful attack of the gout.

About half-way through the correspondence there is an

acute crisis, after which the tone of the letters undergoes a marked change. After seven years of struggle, Madame du Deffand's indomitable spirit was broken; henceforward she would hope for nothing; she would gratefully accept the few crumbs that might be thrown her; and for the rest she resigned herself to her fate. Gradually sinking into extreme old age, her self-repression and her bitterness grew ever more and more complete. She was always bored; and her later letters are a series of variations on the perpetual theme of 'ennui.' 'C'est une maladie de l'âme,' she says, 'dont nous afflige la nature en nous donnant l'existence; c'est le ver solitaire qui absorbe tout.' And again, 'l'ennui est l'avant-goût du néant, mais le néant lui est préférable.' Her existence had become a hateful waste—a garden, she said, from which all the flowers had been uprooted and which had been sown with salt. 'Ah! Je le répète sans cesse, il n'y a qu'un malheur, celui d'être né.' The grasshopper had become a burden; and yet death seemed as little desirable as life. 'Comment est-il possible,' she asks, 'qu'on craigne la fin d'une vie aussi triste?' When Death did come at last, he came very gently. She felt his approaches, and dictated a letter to Walpole, bidding him, in her strange fashion, an infinitely restrained farewell:— 'Divertissez-vous, mon ami, le plus que vous pourrez; ne vous affligez point de mon état, nous étions presque perdus l'un pour l'autre; nous ne nous devons jamais revoir; vous me regretterez, parce qu'on est bien aise de se savoir aimé.' That was her last word to him. Walpole might have reached her before she finally lost consciousness, but, though he realised her condition and knew well enough what his presence would have been to her, he did not trouble to move. She died as she had lived—her room crowded with acquaintances and the sound of a conversation in her ears. When one reflects upon her extraordinary tragedy, when one attempts to gauge the significance of her character and of her life, it is difficult to know whether to pity most, to admire, or to fear. Certainly, there is something at once pitiable and magnificent in such an unflinching perception of the futilities of living, such an uncompromising refusal to be content with anything save the one thing that it is impossible to have. But there is something alarming, too; was she perhaps right after all?

LYTTON STRACHEY.

THE RISE OF THE CONDOTTIERE IN ITALY

1. Sir John Hawkwood. Translated from the Italian of John Temple Leader and Giuseppe Marcotti by LEADER SCOTT. Fisher Unwin. 1889.
2. *Un Condottiere au XIVièrne siècle.* CH. YRIARTE. Paris. 1882.
3. *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian and others.* Edited by RAWDON BROWN. Longmans, Green and Co. 1864.
4. *Storia delle Compagnie di Ventura in Italia.* ERCOLE RICOTTI. Torino. 1844.

THERE is a strong family resemblance between the soldiers of fortune in Italy, between Carmagnola and Sforza, Braccio and Colleone. More saliently than any train of description, the famous statue of the last of the four embodies their collective traits. The ruthless determination of the countenance, the dare-devil, confident gesture, the sense of direct physical force emanating from man and charger, are eloquent attributes of a clan of soldiers who achieved in Italy their full development. Only an Italian, only a contemporary, one who by tradition and observation was familiar with the original, could have conceived so terribly realistic a masterpiece. The mingling of brutality and nobility; the authority which claimed obedience, as much from dread as from discipline; the personal ascendancy enforced by prompt hand and strong will; these are the qualities which lend to the figure of the chief of bandits its incomparable vigour. But how many of those to-day, who scrutinise the statue with a wondering attention, guess at the environment of tumult and strife and turbulent ambition out of which the type was created!

The history of the mercenary armies in Italy, from the Middle Ages to the mid-period of the Renaissance, is the history of Italy itself; for in Italy these armies were no passing display of brute force, but became a power which determined dynasties and from which sprang permanent rulers.

Italy, long civilised, was in the main an urban nation. In a wild, comparatively uncivilised country, feudalism will breed

its own forces. In a comparatively civilised and urbanised country it must soon buy them.

The first mercenaries thrown into Italy—if we except roving bands owning scarcely any authority—were the foot-soldiers of France and Germany. In 1159 Frederick I., Emperor of Germany, had signed a treaty which attempted to stem any employment of paid forces and to revive the feudal element, but, only four years later, he himself crossed the Alps with a large following of men of Brabant, ‘rapacious and desperate.’ The Church, though its moral power could make and unmake kings, had no standing army in its own dominions, and the Pope despatched hired forces against the invaders.

The emergence of the Italian communes in this crisis is a marvellous illustration of the power of citizen forces inspired by patriotism and public spirit. The story of the sufferings and resolution of city after city is an almost incredible one. The indomitable valour of the citizens as they mustered round the standard at length carried all before it. The invaders were swept away, the forces of Frederick were repelled, he himself barely escaped with life. By the middle of the thirteenth century it seemed as if the cities of Italy had but to proceed upon their prosperous way, possessing within themselves their own elements of security; every man forming part of a severely regulated and invincible military force. Yet anyone who was lulled into security by such a survey of the Italian republics, reckoned without that aristocratic and fighting element which lay outside the towns and which was antagonistic to all their interests.

Many of the nobles, descendants of the old feudal chiefs, had never become citizens at all, but still acknowledged fealty to the Emperor. What did they want of the peace and security of cities, who lived by sallies and plunder? And the citizens made no attempt to absorb them. Those nobles who were disposed to throw in their lot with the towns, found themselves excluded from office, from honours, from the advantages of citizenship, even from simple justice. The word of the plebeian was taken in the courts against that of the noble; who found himself penalised by the fact of his order. In Rome the great civic nobility were thrust out of the republic; the Colonna, the Orsini, the Savelli seemed effaced, and when an entirely democratic militia was formed, such men were

excluded from leadership. It is not surprising that the feudal lords drew together and, supported by such forces as they could collect, were ready to range themselves against any city to which they bore a grudge. The great fact of the Middle Ages was war, and a city was esteemed by the number of men and horses it could put into the field. The communes at first made efforts to maintain the purity of their citizen forces, but continual civil wars obliged them to strengthen their defence by the employment of mercenaries.

Up to the end of the thirteenth century, those men who fought with Guelph or Ghibelline adhered to one standard. The Ghibellines threw in their lot with the Visconti or the Scaligieri in such towns as had fallen to their share ; while the Guelphs sought service with Florence, and in Romagna with the forces of the Church. For a time men had the gratification of fighting for the cause they preferred, but by degrees the foreign element, which was without predilection or sympathy, preponderated, and the soldiers took pay wherever they could find it, crossing the Alps, trafficking in war in France or England, coming back to serve the highest bidder. The bitterest enemy to-day of the Ghibelline faction, to-morrow might be fighting under their banner, an ardent Ghibelline himself. The commune could scarcely resist choosing commanders from among these warlike nobles. A Count Biandrate led the civic forces of Milan, a Malespina rode at the head of the squadrons of Parma. By such degrees the dignity of the chief magistrate, or *podestà*, readily fell into the hands of tyrants. As a city was destroyed, the conqueror allowed it to reconstitute on condition that he appointed its chief magistrate, and a feudal lord, an outsider upon whom he could rely, was placed in power. One by one the communes fell under such an autocracy. The *podestà* commanded the army and administered civil and criminal justice, but to such an extent were the regular troops of the city augmented by adventurers and foreigners that the commander of the civic army was a captain of Free Companions in all but the name. His followers could boast a convenient insensibility to the claims of hearth or country. ' Let those ' who win live ' was their motto, and to live in luxury in the intervals and on the spoils of fighting, was all their ambition.

Nor did the noble *podestà* stand alone ; the lords of the surrounding country, clinging to the distinction of rank, proud

of the fame acquired in the field, formed a circle of protection round him, and to their standards gravitated more thickly the mercenaries from distant lands, the more welcome that they were bound to the inhabitants by no ties of kinship, trammelled by no compassionate misgivings. At the first alarm of external or internal disorder, the squadrons of the *podestà* swept down and held the city by martial law, and though their captain still called himself its chief magistrate and professed himself its friend and the defender of its privileges, the privilege of paying for his forces was the only one it retained and its liberties declined in presence of a host of fighting, persecuting adventurers. There was little limit to the ambitious dreams which the leader of a mercenary force might cherish. In the true spirit of the gambler, he staked his life for a principality. Coolness, courage, the knack of taking the occasion by the hand, a prudent recklessness, were his qualifications as a player. Launched at the right moment, his little squadron of thirty or forty lances might secure him a city and lay the foundations of a great future.

The disintegration of the communal by the feudal power in Italy is significant, and in view of it we should remember that the idea of making liberty a social bond—of creating cities and societies on that basis—was a northern or Gothic ideal. The Latin race had at no time grasped it fully, and for centuries under the Empire had been inured to a state of servitude. In so far therefore as the citizens of the new Italian states were Latin, to that extent were they predisposed to tolerate some form of tyranny. Hence their curious outbursts of patriotism, followed by supine acquiescence. They were betrayed by themselves, undermined by cliques and petty interests. The smaller towns, engulfed in the larger ones and allowed no life of their own, became a paralysed and inimical mass, ripe for rebellion. Peace, commerce and riches destroyed the attraction of the old austere life, and in truth war in a very short time was something outside the power of the citizen. Opposed to the impenetrable ranks of men in armour, the city infantry was impotent, and the citizens who had formed the militia of the communes could only preserve any independence by confiding their destiny to specialists. Standing aside from the *mêlée*, they forgot the old virtues of fraternity and courage.

In place of the exiled aristocracy of the Ghibellines rose an

aristocracy of money. Public life was no longer a struggle for national independence but for national mercantile interests. Revolutions, wars, alliances, were no longer those of citizens fighting for their country but of merchants fighting for their counting-houses. The rivalry between cities only amounted to this : that such an one obstructed the road to the markets of Rome and that such another hindered the entrance of goods from Eastern ports. The new life which commerce, arts and letters had opened, was a life to which the Latin spirit turned with a natural aptitude. What folly to waste years in military service in which no honour was to be gained ! The life of a gentleman was worth more than that of a varlet who would sell it for four florins a month. So by degrees all warlike inclination was shaken off. Mercenaries were employed not only to fight the battles of the city, but to keep order within its walls. Florence which in 1260 had eight hundred bands of cavalry, in 1325 had only three hundred. There was a time when Parma could put 15,000 foot and 3000 horse into the field, but in 1315, when she fell under the Visconti, she could not muster 600 horsemen.

Lacking the resources by which feudalism is nourished, the rival tyrants, into whose power the cities fell, were driven to depend on such mixed elements as they could attract to their standards ; men who, without homes or traditions, would fight for any who paid them and whose rapacity it was only possible for a ruler to sate by means of sieges and sacks. As they became more alive to their own value, their pretensions increased. The first band which scaled the walls of a besieged city could count on double pay, and rich rewards fell to every brave soldier. And yet, homeless and landless as they were, thriving upon anarchy and disorder, deriving their own livelihood from the very disintegration of society, these bandit forces were not wholly lacking in forms of law, but were bound to one another and their leaders by ties which perhaps constituted the firmest organisation known to that chaotic time. A thousand dangers met shoulder to shoulder, hardships endured and triumphs enjoyed in company, deeds of daring on behalf of brothers in arms, gallant rescues, marches and bivouacs, knit in close comradeship at least the nucleus of such a band. The best horsemen were divided into *con-nestabili* or *banditi* of from twenty to fifty, and these had some

standing. The *masnada* was a less reputable body, composed of both horse and foot, and in its ranks every outlaw, thief and vagabond, native and foreign, found a place. But round the chief, as his right arm, there gathered a powerful squadron, composed of foreign veterans, Aragonese, Burgundians, Provençals and Germans.

Dissolved from time to time by a defeat or transient peace, these bands of predatory soldiers, inured to their peculiar system of warfare, unfitted to take up any other trade, every man's hand against them in civil life, could but stray about, like wolves cast from the pack, subsisting, till they could find another master, on plundering the miserable peasants. When the last vestige of the Ghibelline power fell, the Germans of the Guard of Tuscany and Lombardy took service with the various despotic rulers and co-operated in tyrannising over the communes and in annihilating the poor efforts by which the local militia still strove to sustain their falling liberties.

Ricotti, whose researches into the history of the Companies of Fortune in Italy, have so greatly stimulated subsequent investigation, but whose own work still remains the chief source of collected information on the subject, devotes considerable space to an analysis of that spirit of adventure which so largely distinguished the men of the Middle Ages. He contends that in an established society all men are brought more or less into line. Education, religion, laws and opinions are diffused and based on certain broad principles. Interest and ambition become submerged in general institutions. Life is more mechanical, and, if less unconstrained, is more secure and peaceful. But if the bases of society are uncertain, if there are no established laws, no deeply rooted opinions or emotions, but all is tumult, doubt, violence and terror, then each must think for and depend upon himself. He can no longer rest upon society and look to it for guidance. The individual is obliged to do much because society can do so little. At such periods energetic natures emerge, and harden and strike out on their own account. But in following Ricotti, it is most important to observe that these incentives to individualism only act in this manner on a young and vigorous and growing race. The relaxation of law and custom does not make a feeble or effete race adventurous but simply dissolute. The spirit of the Middle Ages is the spirit of a developing and

redundantly energetic people, that has not yet formulated its own standards. Life in Italy during the fourteenth century made peculiar demands upon the individual. The greatest ambitions appeared unstable and crumbling in the discord which reigned. Cities, rent by internal divisions and undermined by perpetual intrigues, were constantly changing hands. The passing of laws was futile since their enforcement was impossible. Violence could acquire, but none could count on possessions being respected. The incipient growth of social coherence was promptly eclipsed in a war of faction. Such laws as came into being were often more destructive than beneficial in their action. Sumptuary edicts impeded commerce, custom dues strangled industry, while agriculture was hampered by prohibitions. No power was assured, and no defeat or victory was decisive. So grew up a general belief in the instability and weakness of every public institution, and a conviction of the importance of every individual depending on his own initiative both in action and in thought. The spirit of boundless energy which inspired the Italians declared itself in every branch of civil life. Art was only one of its manifestations. In one century Italians supplied most of the professors of the University of Paris. They were the most powerful ambassadors, the boldest explorers. The environment of the Middle Ages in Italy was a sufficient cause, and the mercenary armies perhaps the most famous manifestation, of this spirit of adventure.

It was inevitable that the instinct of self-preservation in the individual in such an age should constantly impel him to the pursuit of arms. For men thrown on their own resources this was one of the easiest ways of living. Some had no country and little choice. Taking Italy on their way to the Crusades, many found there congenial employment open to them, and got no further. Heretics and vagabonds driven from society, sought a refuge in the ranks of mercenaries. Men returning from the Holy Land, destitute of all trades or means of living, accustomed to the perils and passions of a soldier's life and abandoned in a foreign land, found no way open but that of war.

The crusades to the Holy Land died out, but others took their place. Crusades were directed against the Albigenses, against the Moors in Spain, against Ezzelino, the horrors of

whose reign had overstrained the endurance of a much-enduring age. Politics, religion, greed and ambition all had a share in these expeditions, but, though mercenary soldiers were in increasing request, companies of mercenaries were not yet formally enrolled. During the early part of the fourteenth century, the adventurers, still leavened by the citizens of the communes, formed part of the military forces of the cities. Hired for a season, paid off and disbanded at the cities' pleasure, it had not yet occurred to the soldier of fortune that he could form an army which could dominate a state or dictate its laws.

Yet to the spirit of adventure was soon to be added that of association. To enjoy the fruits of their warfare, it was necessary for the mercenary bands to maintain a certain order and discipline. They placed the most noble and powerful of their numbers at their head and gave him the right to exact obedience.

The first great independent company of mercenaries appeared in the South at the beginning of the fourteenth century and consisted of certain troops who had constituted the main body of the Aragonese army in Sicily. Disbanded on peace being made, they re-organised themselves under an independent and desperate leader and, following him to the East, took possession of the kingdom of Athens.

For the next seventy years foreign troops formed the staple of Italy's military power, but it is remarkable that with the exception of the Englishman, Hawkwood, the greatest Condottieri were drawn from nobles of the land, thus bearing witness that the republicans by their mania for exiling this constituent had not only impoverished their own military virtue, but had also enlisted against themselves all that courage and resource by which they might have profited.

Such relations as those which existed between Uguccone da Faggiuola and Pisa and Lucca, are but one illustration out of hundreds in which the towns had reason to deplore that such men were outside instead of within their councils. The courage of Uguccone, his diplomacy and his fame as an indomitable captain, tempted the Pisans to invite his civic and military control, but when his domination over their mercenary forces was complete, they were unable to restrain him from embarking them, against their will, in a wholly gratuitous war against peaceful and protesting Lucca. When

Lucca rose against his tyranny and drove him into the pay of Verona, Castruccio, a leader fierce and relentless but endowed with great gifts and personal beauty, who took his place, led the city against Florence, and in spite of the strenuous exertions of the Florentines sacked her dependencies. The Florentines, perfidiously treated by their hired army, and their ranks thinned by the pusillanimity of many of the citizens, lost all confidence in themselves and took refuge in the arms of Germany.

Then followed the reign in Italy of the great Austrian and German companies, who brought with them their own leaders. The soldiers of Count Ovenstein, paid by the communes and reinforced by every vagabond in the country, carried disaster and rapine through all Lombardy and ruined Padua, of which Ovenstein professed himself the defender. His methods may be gauged from the fact that rich citizens were known to throw themselves from the windows of the Palazzo Pubblico, preferring to be dashed to pieces on the stones of the piazza rather than be exposed to the tortures inflicted by his extortioners.

In 1339, the Duke of Urslingen formed the Grand Company, a conglomeration of all those mustered by Saxony and a great part of Lombardy. The device borne by Urslingen on his silver breastplate, 'Enemy of God, of Goodness and of Mercy,' was but too eloquent. The condition of the country over which his forces passed testified to their adherence to their leader's motto. 'Nothing was to be seen but slaughters, plunders and burnings. And it often happened that the same place which had been first pillaged by one party was afterwards pillaged and burnt by the other. So that except a very few places of strength, there was not a town or village which was secured from suffering and miserable destruction.' Fra Moriale, a Provençal, and Count Landau, a German, continued and developed the traditions of the foreign mercenaries. Through the action of the former, a born organiser, the army became self-sustaining and more formidable. The marchings and counter-marchings, the victories and defeats of these freebooters—for they were little else—have long lost their interest and can hardly be unravelled, but it is easy to imagine what desperate misery, what want and terror, their life of rapine and plunder carried to every part of 'that Latin land, worn out with glory and misfortune.' More was to be gained

by plunder in Italy than in other lands, and where the game is there is the hunter drawn.

The foreign bands had at length attained a power against which the States could not defend themselves. The Free Companies had become errant military States, admirably organised. Their mail-clad leaders, surrounded by a council of captains, submitted important decisions to a sort of parliament. Judges, notaries and treasurers paid the salaries, distributed the booty and administered the finances. A crowd of merchants flocked to the camps, to haggle over the spoils of cities and convents. Great Italian banking-houses stood in commercial relations to the leaders, who deposited their plunder at interest and held negotiations with princes and republics according to diplomatic forms as equal to equal. Many of the treaties drawn up between them, with large red wax seals affixed, are preserved in the archives of Florence and Siena. The main object of the mercenary armies was to extort money. They exacted what sums they chose from princes and republics, and it not infrequently happened that when an unhappy city had made desperate exertions to satisfy demands enforced by brutal methods, it was only to find itself confronted by broken pledges and fresh impositions.

Since 1361, the English had made their appearance as soldiers of fortune in Italy. Many Englishmen had been fighting in the French wars. Disbanded when the peace of Bretigny was concluded, and steeped in the excitement of campaigning and the gratified greed of setting to ransom, such men had little inducement to return to their own country. They were the last of those foreign bands which had devastated France, and the very name by which they were distinguished, *Les Tards-venus*—late-comers to the feast (but the sharper appetite) !—is sinisterly suggestive of their point of view and estimate of their profession.

Forming themselves into roving companies, with Germans and Burgundians, after having overrun Champagne and Burgundy they menaced Avignon, where Pope Innocent VI. was established. The Pope, in order to turn them aside, came to an understanding with the Marquis of Monserrat who was looking out for soldiers to fight the Visconti and, on the Pope advancing the necessary funds (Froissart says, 60,000 francs of gold), took the whole of the great company into his service.

Ten thousand of the money was paid to Sir John Hawkwood's brigade, into which all the English were soon drafted, having abandoned the name of *Tards-venus* for that of the 'White Company,' in allusion to their white tunics and flags and their shining armour.

They numbered 3500 horse and 2000 foot and for many years were faithful to Florence and the party of the Guelfs. It cannot be said that their methods differed materially from those of the mercenaries against whom they fought. It is indeed noted as a flattering distinction, that unlike the Hungarians and Germans, they refrained from roasting and mutilating their captives, but plunder and incendiarism were habitually practised in the enemy's country and often in that of their friends. 'There is nothing more terrible than to hear the name of the English,' and their advent in Italy gave rise to a proverb, quoted as an old one in the fifteenth century, *Inglese italianato è un diavolo incarnato*. Yet on the whole the English captain seems to have enjoyed a reputation for good faith, rare among his contemporaries, and his mounted effigy in fresco on the walls of the cathedral in Florence still testifies to the honour in which the Florentines held his memory.

Attempts were often made to pit the companies against one another, but it too often happened that when one body was victorious, the best men among the defeated would go over to the conqueror's standard and increase his efficiency. Pope Urban V., supported by the eloquence of St. Catherine, formed a plan, of the success of which he seems to have been very sanguine, to beguile the forces into undertaking another Holy War against the Turks, but the world had moved on since the days when such a proposal would have aroused enthusiasm. The mercenary leaders mocked at the ingenuous suggestion and during the following winter Bongarden, a German, devastated the Sabine and part of Tuscany as an answer, while the Campagna round Rome suffered a like fate at the hands of Sir John Hawkwood's company.

The insolence of the companies respected nothing; when Cardinal Albornoz requested Count Landau to remove his troops from the States of the Church, the Condottiere replied with unabashed candour:

'My Lord, our manner of life in Italy is universally known. To rob, plunder and murder those who resist is our custom. Our

revenues depend on the provinces we invade. Those who value their lives buy peace and quiet by heavy tribute. If therefore the Signor Legate wishes to dwell at unity with us and to secure tranquillity to his cities, let him do like the rest of the world, that is pay, pay, pay! Take this answer to your master quickly, for I will not guarantee that nothing shall happen to your most revered person if I find you still here an hour hence.'

Urban next turned to the Italian princes, and by promises of ecclesiastical subsidies to themselves and of indulgences to their followers, endeavoured to persuade them to take arms against :

'that multitude of villains of divers nations, associated in arms by avidity in appropriating to themselves the fruits of the labour of the innocent and defenceless people : unbridled in every kind of cruelty, extorting money, methodically devastating the country and the open towns, burning houses and barns, destroying vines and obliging poor peasants to fly, assaulting, besieging, spoiling and ruining even fortresses and walled cities ; torturing and maiming those from whom they expected to extort ransom, without regard to ecclesiastical dignity, sex or age ; violating wives, virgins and nuns, and constraining even gentlewomen to follow their camp to do their pleasure and carry arms and baggage.'

In 1366, a bull of excommunication was issued against the companies, though only a short time before, the Pope had himself been summoning more mercenaries into the unhappy country. The leaders were now exhorted to disband their forces and to surrender the occupied cities. Princes were forbidden to employ them, nobles and communes to fight under their banner. In his despair Pope Urban called on emperors, princes, bishops and the people of the world to unite for the extirpation of these terrible hordes, promising plenary absolution in return.

The bull was read from every pulpit in Italy and the Condottieri answered it in derision with fresh outrages. These soldiers of fortune were well aware that their power was far too great to be shattered by excommunication, and that neither tyrants, republics, nor the Church herself could dispense with their services. Less than ten years after the publication of the denunciation, indeed, the papal power was employing them with every circumstance of outrage and cruelty to repress and punish the despairing resistance of such ill-fated cities as Cesena and Faenza. 'The sole reason the mercenaries did not

'establish lordship in Italy,' says Gregorovius, 'is because the leaders lacked the political idea and the adventurers the bonds of nationality.'

The first purely Italian band of soldiers (soldiers so called from the acceptance of the *soldo* or coin of recompense) was formed a few years after the Pope's unsuccessful crusade. At this time many Italians who had been fighting under foreign flags had strayed homewards, set at liberty by peace. At the siege of Calais, 1500 horse and 3000 foot, all of them Lombards, had been employed by the French. The descendants of Castruccio, of Malatesta, of Ubaldini and other great captains, serving in different parts of the country, had fifty or a hundred lances, among whom were many Italians, in their pay, some of them drawn from a national band, formed by two gentlemen of Bologna, which for a short time had considerable success. It remained for an Italian Condottiere, Alberico da Barbiano, to gather together these scattered forces and, leading them against the foreign bands, to demonstrate that Italy still had sufficient material to form an army, and sufficient valour to guard her own fortunes.

The leader himself was only twenty-eight, but possessed every quality that could attract the admiration and secure the allegiance of his followers. In forming his company he stipulated for none but Italians and at first only commanded 200 lances. The force soon grew to 800 and consisted for the most part of young but experienced warriors, all vowed to eternal hatred of the foreigner.

Blessed by the Pope and fired by St. Catherine of Siena, the newly enrolled companies carried all before them, men flocked ever faster to their standard, energy and zeal led on to fortune, with the result that by the end of the fourteenth century the hated foreigners had disappeared. The reign of the purely mercenary army in Italy was ended and that of the national mercenary army had begun.

It cannot be said that the substitution of native adventurers for the foreigners, who were expelled, swept away all the military oppression under which the country had laboured. The same traditions of war continued, and, as soldiers, the Italian adventurers formed a solid body opposed to all other classes. But though no great difference was apparent at the outset, the companies were not long in acquiring a

certain permanence, calculated to carry with it some sense of responsibility.

Progress in discipline and efficiency was more possible, and leaders soon discovered that their forces were superior in value to those men who hardly knew by sight the flag under which they marched, and who having obtained the plunder for which they existed often disbanded in order to squander it. After a time, aliens who had in some measure become nationalised, and who acquired a certain fixity of tenure by contracting for long terms, were admitted to the ranks, and the superiority was increased over those foreign captains who recruited largely from deserters, outlaws and birds of passage.

The commands in the Italian companies soon began to go from father to son and to constitute a heritage, so that at the end of the fourteenth century, the widow of the great Condottiere, Facino Cane, espousing the Duke of Milan, took as part of her dowry, the companies that her first husband had collected and thus consolidated the throne of Milan which till then had been at the mercy of mutinous captains. Dynasties appeared of Condottieri as of sovereigns and seigneurs. A systematisation of arms was effected ; the Italians making an art of war, as they made an art out of everything they touched. At the Scuola Militare young men of family, who were one day to govern their own districts, or to take service under great princes, studied the arts of war under illustrious captains. With a more assured service, officers knew their men, promotion rested on a surer basis, the profession of arms became a more definite, we may even say a more respectable, one, and the Condottiere was no longer so completely a soldier of fortune. Yet it is evident that to keep all these men employed and paid, it was fatally necessary to indulge in conflicts and even permanent wars. In peace the occupation of the warrior by trade was gone, and we can understand the point of view of Sir John Hawkwood, who to the *Pax vobiscum* of certain monks returned a fierce ' May the Lord despise your 'alms.' The excuses of the startled monks elicited the explanation : ' Do you not know that I live by war and that 'peace would be my undoing ? ' ' And,' adds Franco Sacchetti, who tells the story in the fifteenth century, ' so well did ' Hawkwood order his affairs that there was little peace in ' Italy in his day.'

Once more let us glance at the fierce personalities of those soldiers of fortune. In such a painting as Antonello da Messina's 'Condottiere' in the Louvre, we realise that hard, truculent being, product of a daring and unscrupulous age, whose bold eyes and thrust-out underlip speak of untameable arrogance. In the Bargello is preserved the bust of Braccio, by San Gallo, where a great genius shows us the stern, indomitable face, handsome as that of a Roman Emperor, the small, close-shut mouth, savage eyes and thick jaw and throat above the iron cuirass. Such nicknames as Gattamalata, spotted cat, Malatesta, evil-head, Fortebraccio, strong arm, Piccinino, tiny, given by the soldiers to their chiefs, speak of the mingled fear and devotion they inspired.

Two rôles were open to the Condottiere as leader : either from a captain-general he might become himself a prince, not giving up the trade of war, but gathering his troops round him in defence of his newly-acquired State ; or he might remain all his life a soldier of fortune, spending his years treating with princes and States and commanding their armies. In the latter case, he always had with him a kernel of troops, attached to him by perpetual association, composed of old companions in arms, vassals, *âmes damnées*, pupils and comrades, on whom he could rely, and for whom he stipulated when he engaged himself. As States became more consolidated it was no longer open to the successful soldier to fit himself into a dynasty ; his forces became an army in the pay of the State, and he had to content himself, like Carmagnola and Colleone, with leading a splendid life, enjoying princely luxury, occupying a fortified palace decorated by great artists of the day, and having poets and minstrels at his call. In their early days the bands had no headquarters or fortresses. This accounts for the quantity of buried treasure found from time to time in old camps and near pillaged churches ; the men who buried it had intended to return but were forbidden by the fortune of war, and their secret perished with them.

The soldier of fortune who made war his profession often spent part of his plunder in a pious gift, and, soiled with crime and cruelty, sought by ex-votos and pious bequests to salve his conscience and assure his salvation. His sword was generally vowed to a saint or to some specially venerated Madonna. When the captains of Pisa took Lucca amid rivers

of blood, they founded the Chapel of St. George in the cathedral there and dowered a number of poor girls whom they had made orphans. Bernardo de Serris, captain of arms in Florence, in 1410 gave 200 gold florins to the Dominicans of S. Maria Novella, for a perpetual Mass for himself and his brothers. Hardly a will of one of these captains but contains pious legacies; while the number of panels and altar statues dedicated by them, and canvases in which they kneel at the feet of their saints, are hardly to be counted.

The registers of councils in Florence, Siena, Venice and the Vatican have preserved the military laws of the Free Companies which vary little in different States. Of the three presidents appointed to a company, the first did justice among the soldiery, the second controlled the officers, and the third acted as consignee and ambassador, formed companies, administered pay, made engagements, kept an account of the numbers and quality of the troop and looked after lodgings, horses and arms. A 'lance' consisted of three men, the chief, an esquire (who might be a foot-soldier), and a page; it included two horses and a baggage-pony. A company implied at least ten lances or thirty men. Every captain of cavalry was required to have a war-horse worth fifty florins, and a palfrey worth twenty. The cavalry soldier had to provide a horse worth thirty florins, but if the one he brought did not come up to the mark, one florin a month was deducted from his pay. The archives of every State are full of lists of these horses, with descriptions of the marks stamped on them. Up to the beginning of the fifteenth century a great deal of picturesque medieval fancy was expended on costume; helms were often provided with gleaming wings and shields adorned with heraldic blazonry. The Militi, or heavy cavalry, were clad in full armour, on which fortunes were spent in engraving, and the preparation of a suit was the work of years. The son of the Condottiere Piccinino, at twenty, never having seen a stricken field, was conspicuous among all the captains and princes of his day for his armour damascened with gold, the masterpiece of a Milanese artificer which he had inherited from his famous father. Of all the cavalry, the English and Hungarians were the most lightly armed and best suited to reconnaissance duty. Alberico da Barbiano modified the armour of his men and gave them casques and a *goletta* to

protect the throat. He caparisoned the war-horses more fully, and it was he who invented the spike that protected their headpiece. Gunpowder was already beginning to change the mode of warfare, but the iron-mounted crossbow was still accounted the most formidable implement and had been the chief weapon of the foreign foot-soldiers.

The Condottiere engaged his force by troops under a flag, or in direct contract with the ruler of the State he intended to serve. If well known and successful he was sure of applications from all parties. Florence in 1382 received a brief from Pope Urban VI., setting forth that 'for a long time we have desired 'that our beloved son, John Hawkwood (Giovanni Acuto), 'Knight, should with six hundred lances militate in the service 'of ourselves and of the Roman Church,' and the Florentines, being in debt to the Pope, were reluctantly obliged to let their famous captain go for a time. A Condottiere taking service registered an oath to obey, to go wherever he was sent, and to reveal any conspiracy he might discover. That such obedience sometimes went against the grain we infer from the expostulations of Sir John Hawkwood when desired by the Cardinal Legate to proceed to the massacre of the cruelly betrayed city of Cesena, but no reluctance availed the Condottiere when he had once signed on, *aveva scritto*, and had received a month's pay in advance.

The contract, called a *Firma*, stipulated for a certain number of months, or even weeks, and when it expired, came the *Aspetta*, a short interval during which the prince or State could renew upon the same conditions. If this was allowed to run out the troop could take its liberty. A clause stipulating that service should not for an interval be taken with the enemy was little observed in practice, unless the leader had an eye to a speedy re-engagement.

The actual pay agreed on was a small part of the emoluments. A captain might receive thirty to a hundred florins a month with ten for each lance, but indemnities, tributes and ransoms reached an enormous figure. The English company in three months of the year 1375 received from Florence, Pisa, Lucca and Arezzo 174,000 gold florins, while the tribute exacted from Siena amounted to what would be over two millions of francs. Hawkwood enjoyed a pension of 1200 florins. All sorts of perquisites augmented their funds, such as a present

of 'a hundred of the best bows of Lucca,' sent by the Signoria of Bologna, and above all there was now and then a rich wind-fall in the sack of some flourishing city. Faults were punished by fines and in the State budgets these fines amount to a considerable sum.

In the constant reviews which took place the officers of the day passed under notice every horse, man and equipment, and 'broke' on the spot any who fell below the required standard. If the culprit could prove an honourable excuse, such as a wound, the loss of an esquire, or that he had but just reached the camp after a sortie, he was allowed eight days in which to amend.

In many camps an iron discipline was maintained. Under Sforza, flogging was administered for rust upon arms, and those who stole forage were liable to be dragged at the horse's tail. At night the legends of the paladins of France were read aloud to the soldiers. Neither gambling nor swearing was tolerated in camp. Yet no leader was ever more loved by his men, or more lamented when he met his death in the attempt to save a favourite page from drowning.

Acts of valour were rewarded by money. A captain who defeated a troop of more than 200 and remained master of the enemy's camp, received a month's pay and the goods, except the armour, which was always left to the prisoners. Banished men and traitors to the State were made over to the General, common soldiers being set free on parole. The soldiers had the right to pillage a town taken by assault, but if the town capitulated, they had to wait till ransom was decided or permission given for a sack. Troops went into winter quarters as early as the month of August. Indeed the life of the soldier was not one of great hardship, particularly after the disappearance of the ultramontane forces. Quarter was invariably given and all the regulations and observances by which the Condottieri were fenced in, convince us that theirs was by no means the haphazard existence that might be supposed. Archives have preserved many letters from captains to the authorities complaining of small annoyances which are to be made good; the theft of a 'lean brown horse' with his hind legs fired, the loss of 'a small bag with its contents.' When the small bag is restored, the contents have been abstracted and are again insisted on, 'lest the owner

'and his company should have occasion to do something mutually disagreeable.'

The Mantuan manuscripts include a delightfully human sheaf of documents, in which William Gold, a captain of Hawkwood's horse, appeals to Marquess Gonzaga concerning 'a certain French Janet,' who has been 'long at his disposal' but who has fled to Mantua, and for whom he begs that diligent search may be made. Her arrest being reported, he urges as the reason for his solicitude that she had taken with her 500 gold florins, but he soon betrays himself. If she is put into safe custody he will serve the Gonzaga with three hundred spears. He will indemnify any expense incurred, even to the amount of a thousand florins. Her assertion that she had a husband is denied; he knows nothing of her husband. Presently his real feelings can no longer be concealed, and he writes:

'Because love overcometh all things, since it even prostrates the stout, making them impatient, taking all heart from them, even casting down into the depths the summits of tall towers, as has happened and befallen me for the sake of this Janet, my heart yearning so towards her that by no means can I be at rest. Therefore on my bended knees, I devoutly beseech your lordship to put everything else aside and so ordain and command that the said Janet neither may nor can go forth from Mantua till I send for her. Let her be detained at my suit, for if you should have a thousand golden florins spent for her I will pay them without delay, for if I should follow her to Avignon I will obtain this woman. Now my Lord, should I be asking a trifle contrary to law, yet ought you not to cross me in this, for some day I shall do more for you than a thousand French Madams could effect, and if there should be need for me in a matter of greater import, you shall have, for the asking, a thousand spears at my back. Therefore in conclusion, again and again I entreat you that this said Janet may be put in a safe place, unknown to anybody, and kept till I send some servant to her with a letter from myself.*

And so it goes on with reiterated entreaties and promises. We infer that the prize was recaptured, for in the following year William Gold returns thanks for the 'great gifts' conferred on him in Mantua. Later on 'that valiant and strenuous man' is voted a pension of 500 ducats for 'service rendered in the siege of Chioggia.' Of the fate of 'French

* The letter is written in 1378 from the camp below Verona. It was in 1361 that the English company passed through Avignon.

'Janet' we hear nothing more, yet we may surmise that she was not without weapons in her own defence, though she should never have seen her home in Avignon again.

In the later history of the Condottieri, important commanders finding that they had more to lose than to gain by defeating each other, devised systems of campaigning, clever gambits, of which each side equally observed the moves and which cost them as little as possible. A prisoner was always more valuable than a dead man; in consequence the battles were often more or less bloodless. Splendidly equipped armies were known to fight all day, as at Zagonara in 1453 and at Molinella in 1457, with hardly the loss of a man. Service was made as light as possible. By mutual agreement night attacks were abandoned and outpost duty was dispensed with. These are circumstances which amusingly depict the limitations inherent in the very nature of a mercenary body, which, fighting rather for pay than victory, must sooner or later learn the lesson of fighting at the least cost to itself. Here lies the cause of the intrinsic inferiority between a mercenary and a truly national force, and it was one which could not, in the end, but entail the downfall of the Free Companies.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the re-emergence of national infantry sounded the death-knell of the soldier of fortune. But the ruin was gradual. Giovanni delle Bande Nere, the warlike son of Catherine Sforza, is sometimes spoken of as the last Condottiere, but some forty years after his death his Black Bands were still keeping up a desultory commerce in arms, and as late as 1582 the last of them can be traced to the standing army of the Strozzi.

But who can determine the point at which the effects were arrested of an institution which was preponderate at such a vital period of Italy's history? A system which for two centuries had dominated a great country and invaded every detail of its social and political life could not but leave lasting traces, and as its origins are remote and complex so its consequences are varied and far-reaching. The last influences of the Free Companions were felt in Europe down to the establishment of conscription, and are even yet accountable for many customs and usages in military affairs.

EVELYN MARCH PHILLIPPS.

CIVILISATION AND HAPPINESS

1. *La Science de la Civilisation.* Par ÉRASME DE MAJEWSKI. Paris. Félix Alcan. 1908.
2. *Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de Progrès.* Par JULES DELVILLE. Paris. Félix Alcan. 1910.
3. *A Philosophy of Social Progress.* By E. J. URWICK. Methuen. 1912.
4. *Happiness.* By Rev. HUGH BLACK. Hodder and Stoughton. 1911.
5. *Humanity and its Problems.* By ALFRED HOOK. Methuen. 1908.

THE increasing self-consciousness (or hypochondria, as the reader prefers) of mankind is exhibited in the growing number of books, such as the above, devoted to feeling the pulse of the civilised world, taking its temperature, noting its growth, and—though here a spirit of caution is observable—prescribing its treatment. In the Rev. Hugh Black's 'Happiness' we have practical counsel on Life and its conduct, as from an urbane and enlightened theologian. Mr. Hook's book is largely a retrospective analysis of social development. That of Mr. Urwick, despite a certain cloudiness of texture, constitutes a thoughtful and suggestive analysis of organic social conditions and inter-relations. But for the most part these and similar works seem to shrink, or at least refrain, from examining civilisation strictly in its hedonic import.

To augment the sum of human happiness must be the desire of every person of common humanity. It is the main object of some, the declared object of many, and at least a collateral consideration with most. Accordingly, for those, an increasing number in all countries, whose heads are lifted above the waves of pressing bodily needs and personal necessities, the question of how to further this object must be, and must remain, the most absorbing and momentous of all subjects of human inquiry.

If little has been done to envisage the subject scientifically, it is perhaps because the question hardly admits of scientific treatment. For example those who set out to give practical

effect to their compassionate impulsions might be expected to begin by asking (which they never do) whether it is better to enhance happiness or diminish woe.

The distinction is by no means fantastical. Of 100 people who are, as to 10 per cent. in bliss, as to 10 per cent. in anguish, and as to 80 per cent. in moderate contentment, should one aim at mitigating the woe of the 10 per cent. or at adding to the satisfactions of the 80 per cent. ?

The answer to this question depends on the answer to other questions, as :

1. Is pleasure as desirable as suffering is undesirable ?
2. Can any amount of happiness in A compensate for suffering in B ?
3. Can any previous or subsequent felicity outweigh the worst suffering ?

It is in the nature of such questions that, though of real practical importance, they are largely unanswerable, because the answers depend on data so difficult of access. For any given person 'utmost joy' and 'worst suffering' are unknown. As regards himself and his constitution a man is bounded by his personal experience ; as regards others he is bounded by the five walls of his senses and the prison of his personality. He can never really escape from his own prison or penetrate that of another. All a man can be sure of is the stream of sensations and emotions which traverse his own personal consciousness between birth and death. The universe presents, and must present, itself to every man in terms of his own experience. All else is vague and inferential.

It is this sheer ignorance and inexperience, personal, ancestral and racial, which lie at the root of all the differences which separate human beings in ideals, beliefs, policies, and systems of conduct.

No man can gauge except by actual experience even the possibilities inherent, for weal or woe, in his own temperament and constitution when subjected to unfamiliar conditions. He is hampered further in estimating life by the difficulty of duly synthetising his own experiences. He cannot always revive an impression or recover a vivid recollection of what he has gone through. The two main elements of consciousness, pleasure and pain, are mutually exclusive and incompatible. When one is present in force, the other becomes vague, unreal, and even unimaginable.

A man may spend a happy life and suffer so horribly at its ending that all previous enjoyment is expunged from consciousness, and made to appear a worthless and ghastly mockery. Or, again, a man may go through sufferings for which at the time a thousand years of happiness would be rejected as inadequate compensation, and yet when the agony has passed and begun to fade in recollection he may regain his interest and satisfaction in living, and think again that life with all its risks is well worth having.

Plainly, in order to pass a final and satisfactory verdict on life as a whole, it would be necessary to have gone through every conceivable experience down to death in all of its protean shapes, and then be able to remember, to compare, and to summarise them. Moreover it would not even be sufficient to have undergone every objective vicissitude as from one point of view and in a single personality, for in precisely identical external conditions every personality gives a different reaction. Even were a complete experience and estimate possible or conceivable, the result could not be available ; for when the individual existence is ended and the account ready for casting up the accountant has disappeared.

Mankind may be divided into those who have gone down into the pit and those who have not. Those whose nerves have never been shaken by terror or anguish, who are healthy and comfortable, hear of pain or woe as the blind man hears of colours. At worst these are to them but ' the still music sad, ' of humanity ' which imbues them with the subtle satisfaction of contrasted self-security.

Those on the other hand who have felt in their flesh the iron teeth of Fate, who have writhed as in the clutch of merciless and ineluctable powers, can easily conceive of suffering which might reduce any joy to insignificance by comparison—' trouble so exquisite that, from his wheel, happy Ixion might ' spare tears for them.'

Should anyone doubt whether pain be more intense than pleasure he has only to ask himself whether he would accept the greatest joy he can conceive on condition that it be succeeded or preceded by the worst suffering he can imagine. There is none who would entertain the proposal. Compared with severe suffering, happiness is vague, elusive, indeterminate. Pain is vivid, positive, overmastering. Suffering is never far off ; a false step and we pass the brink.

Happiness, even pleasure, is evasive, hard to come by, often even unattainable.

That optimism in its extreme forms should flourish in such a world might seem surprising. Besides the lack of imagination and experience already referred to, this may be further explained by the fact that happiness is more vocal than woe. Happiness is exuberant, infectious, has the faculties of expression in full command, seeks society, seeks to impart itself. Despair is mostly dumb, does not court the public gaze or sit in the highways of life, but shrinks out of sight, knowing itself everywhere unwelcome, and if it does not voluntarily hide itself is often forcibly bestowed in hospital or asylum. The physical debility which generally accompanies suffering, especially in its extreme forms, renders forcible expression, and sometimes speech itself, impossible. The fact that those who suffer most are generally killed, maddened or paralysed by their sufferings helps to explain the ease with which most people shut out from their consciousness the more hideous aspects of existence. The battlefield of life is strewn with the wounded and the dying, but the groans are drowned in the rolling thunder of the drums and the noise of many trumpets blowing to battle. The ranks of the unscathed still press forward over their fallen fellows, for the most part heedless of the writhing forms and the impassioned appeals for succour.

But if pain is more to be dreaded than pleasure to be desired, it follows that A's utmost joy cannot be held to compensate for his utmost woe, and still less can any pleasure in B be held to compensate for the suffering of A.

It is true that the individual, even though the capacities for pain in his constitution exceed his capacities for pleasure, may yet have a balance of satisfaction in life owing to the minus side of his experience having been less fully explored than the plus. The danger lies in the fact that while plus experiences are no safeguard against the minus, the minus experiences tend to militate against the plus. The effect is cumulative, and he who has descended to the depths of pain can never again mount to the heights of happiness, because the anguish has registered an ineffaceable effect upon his brain, made a background of apprehension to his mind and enfeebled the springs of hope.

If these considerations are sound, it follows that it is of much greater urgency to mitigate extreme forms of suffering

than to enhance the enjoyment of those who are in no special need of our concern. This is a conclusion, nevertheless, which would involve a modification of policy by a good many people in a good many directions.

Many good-natured people would rather take a happy child to the pantomime than read for half-an-hour to a sick person.

For most people a slight interruption in the comfort of one of their immediate entourage is of more concern than the most horrid agonies inflicted on people of whom they know little and who suffer at a sufficient distance. Yet suffering is nowise mitigated by being remote from us in space or by being outside our range of imagination or sympathy.

It cannot be denied that for this attitude there is much excuse to be offered. As a rule the farther an affliction is removed from us in space or time or sympathy, the remoter also is the chance of our remedial exertions reaching their objective. Further, there can be no doubt that much suffering is associated with some form of weakness or unworthiness, and cannot be lightly abrogated on pain of seeing the evil re-appear in exaggerated form. Again, those who are most ardent in the war against misery and injustice are those whom the humanitarian most wishes to conserve and perpetuate, as being the noblest and most disinterested; yet in this war, in the discharge of their altruistic impulsions, they tend to exhaust and destroy themselves, to use themselves up, on behalf of those who on the average are less worthy. Moreover through the nature of their objective and the venue of their activities they have to undergo the depressing influences of woe, and in so far as their spirits and outlook are affected thereby they to that extent suffer defeat in their purpose, which is to raise the level of human happiness, and they become themselves in their turn a centre of contagion for others. Helping another from a quagmire a man often sinks in himself, and from the point of view of the impartial onlooker the suffering brought on the altruist by his altruism is as much to be deplored as any other suffering, possibly more.

By such excuses as these, we may in part salve our conscience for our callous absorption in our own restricted interests, while the ocean of human woe 'moans round with many 'voices' that fall on our dulled ears in vain.

Nevertheless, after all deductions made, there do remain

numerous occasions where there is a clear choice between adding to happiness or mitigating affliction, and where it is quite common to prefer the former course to the latter. This (apart from stupid selfishness) is sufficiently explained by the considerations already adduced: the greater obscurity and seclusion of woe, the repugnance to contemplate or realise it, as opposed to the infectious satisfaction of watching the exuberant manifestations of pleasure. So true is it that 'to him that hath shall be given and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have.'

On those who would go about to mitigate acute misery, it is incumbent to know the signs, symptoms, gradations and general distribution of misery. What seems precisely the same affliction objectively will completely break down and demoralise one person while another will carry it off with buoyant resilience. The amount of pain distilled will depend not only upon the magnitude of the affliction but on the constitution and history of the individual that sustains the impact.

A thing profoundly interesting, and which has never yet been attempted, would be to conduct a census of a given number of people of different ages, sexes, races, occupations and social strata which should pose such questions as the following, and compare and classify the answers:—

1. Are you glad or sorry to be alive?
2. What are the main elements in your happiness or unhappiness?
3. What has been your greatest joy, your worst suffering?
4. What do you most desire, most dread?
5. Would you prefer the survival or extinction of your personality at death?
6. What means would you recommend for bettering the lot of human kind?

So direct and effective a method of diagnosis would doubtless be an offence and an embarrassment to the bulk of our social saviours, who labour with so much unction and gusto to give people not what they want but what it is assumed they ought to want.

In measuring the afflictions of our fellows, we are often misled by the looseness of their language. One will endure in grim silence what in another raises the wildest lamentations. Many, and often those who feel most deeply, deliberately

reserve their gloomiest feelings except from a few intimates, and sometimes even from them. People who have suffered horribly often shrink from describing their sufferings, either because they fear to reawaken the impression too painfully, or because they feel that too intimate a presentment of the horrible excites repugnance, even antipathy, in their fellows.

When we consider the danger, the difficulty and the possible futility of altruistic effort on a large scale, it is hardly surprising, human nature being what it is, that most people are content to distribute their beneficence over a very limited area. If we decide to do this and to shut our eyes and ears to the mass of vile and hideous suffering which does not immediately concern us or which appears inaccessible, we find that the problem of mitigating acute misery passes easily into that of augmenting happiness.

Our difficulties, however, are not at an end. What constitutes happiness? What are the conditions that promote and confirm it? How far can we hope to establish it on any principle or system of conduct? Stated physically, we may say that pleasure (of which happiness is the generalised form) is the furtherance, pain the hindrance, of life. Happiness, therefore, is in proportion to the fulness of the life generated, to the volume of freely flowing nervous energy, of functional activities and affections, combined with the fulness and the permanence of the provision afforded for their satisfaction.

Now life, as Herbert Spencer has shown, is a correspondence between the organism and its environment in which there is a constant process of change going on in the one to fit changes in the other. In so far as there is a discordance between them, too great to be adjusted by any process of self-modification in the organism, pain and frustration ensue and the vitality is impaired.

The desiderandum, therefore, is to provide and preserve this harmonious correspondence, this regular interplay, this moving equilibrium of subjective and objective conditions. But (at any rate in the human race) neither term of the correspondence is fixed; each on the contrary is fluctuant and changeful. It follows that happiness by the nature of things is a condition of unstable equilibrium.

Nor does analytical investigation disclose any means of

rendering it stable. In the first place, birth and death, things inevitable, are for ever upsetting the situation. Conditions and circumstances that will afford satisfaction and support to three persons may wholly fail in respect of five. It is rare for an individual to be born to a destiny and an environment that entirely suit him. The father may have wrought himself into harmony with his environment or wrought his environment to his liking. The son is often of so different a type that he has to undertake the arduous task of breaking out of the sphere to which he is committed, rupturing ties and suiting himself with a new environment. Obtained, it is not to be counted on. Nothing stands still around us. The environment is ever developing breaches and discrepancies, accidental (so called) or natural.

No doubt absolute contentment is undesirable as tending to mental inertia, stagnation and decay. Some changes to keep the faculties exercised may well be desired so they be not too violent. But changes are often both violent and irreparable. From time to time one of the pillars round which our life has entwined itself is shattered by a blow out of the dark which tears the mind and leaves it mutilated and disfigured.

Take the problem next in its subjective aspect : Supposing it were possible to fix our surroundings to our liking, how long would that liking last ? Supposing we could bar from the situation for ever the jolting and disjointing incursion of unknown and incalculable factors, could we count on a constant output of sensational and emotional satisfaction even from the situation as arranged, accepted and approved by us ? Here again to ask the question is to answer it. Our personality is no more than our surroundings exempt from change. The 'ego' is in constant mutation, fluctuation, and even self-contradiction. Growth, desuetude and decay are ceaselessly busy with all our appetites, affections, ambitions, faculties and tastes. What pleases now may be hateful ten years, or even ten days, hence.

' Then comes the change, the check, the fall,
Pain rises up : old pleasures pall.'

We desire something so much that it is inconceivable we could ever cease to desire it. We embark, perhaps, on years of toil to

accomplish our object and often find, having won it, that success turns to ashes in our mouth. Fruition is failure.

We find that too little outward change and stimulation is almost as fatal to happiness as too much. Satiety is always creeping at our heels, an advantage once gained is rapidly ignored. The more thoroughly we become habituated to anything, the less it engages our attention. It ceases to be material for hope or fear, satisfaction or dissatisfaction, and passes out of consciousness like the vital functions of respiration and pulsation of which we only become aware when they are interrupted. Freshness and novelty are indispensable elements of the keenest pleasure, and freshness and novelty are for ever on the wing.

Thus the lavish increase of material advantages and luxuries can add nothing permanent to contentment. Rather it renders contentment more vulnerable, for luxuries grow into necessities, and as we pile our necessities higher, the equilibrium of our contentment grows ever more obviously unstable. Happiness escapes in spite of all the means and appliances that may be accumulated to compass it, and man's horizon of inappeasable desire broadens boundlessly about him for ever as he goes.

With primitive man, whose wants are simple and mainly physical, it is comparatively easy to furnish, or at least to prescribe, the appropriate pabulum. Nourishment and shelter, a companion of the other sex to cook his food and serve his sexual instincts, and he is contented. The same mental simplicity, however, which makes him easily satisfied renders him incapable of securing himself in the possession of these necessities. His relations with the outside world being restricted, he cannot see far ahead or far afield. Ignorant of the sequences of Nature, and of the forces that surround and threaten him, he falls an easy prey to the various physical misadventures against which civilised communities build so many ramparts of precaution. Battle, murder and sudden death, plague, pestilence and famine, attend his steps and shorten his life.

As civilisation advances, as society grows in organisation and strength, the physical disasters, 'cold, pain and hunger' and all fleshly ills tend to diminish, but the problem is not abolished. It has shifted its ground. There is now a more

delicate mental equilibrium to be sustained. It is no longer the body, but the growing complexity of psychical needs that has to be fed, and that is so hard to feed, for this is a famine that only grows with feeding.

As the emotions increase in volume and complexity, as the susceptibilities refine and multiply, and as the expanding intellect extends their venue backward and forward and outward in space and time, the corresponding satisfactions and environment demanded become increasingly difficult to supply and to maintain. So little can the material conditions of happiness be prescribed that it wants but a mere thought, a waft of memory, a vivid anticipation or apprehension, a novel aspect of things suddenly seized, to turn night to day or joy to woe.

How futile then to suppose, like so many of our social reformers, that by an artificial reconstruction of the social order, by a remoulding of external and material conditions in the direction of uniformity, we can add to human happiness; or that the infinite heterogeneity of human nature could or would support the strait-jacket of standardised material conditions. Civilised men are endowed, each with a wealth of various appetites, affections, tastes, faculties, aptitudes and ambitions, inherited and acquired, of which the sum in no two cases is alike, so that to furnish others with happiness to order would demand delicate, thoughtful and comprehensive adjustments and re-adjustments, which cannot be stereotyped but must vary more or less with each individual in accordance with diversities of sex, age, class, race, climate, civilisation, religion, education and personal proclivities.

Now there can be no question that the distinctive and universal feature of what is called progress and civilisation is just this growing diversity of taste and aptitude, this refinement of sensibility, this unstable and derangeable complexity of mental constitution. No doubt this complication and multiplication of sensibilities means a great increase in the capacity for pleasure, but quite obviously it is accompanied by a corresponding increase in the capacity for suffering.

Even if 'Progress,' in the popular use of the term, were the 'Open Sesame' which we have seen so much reason to question, it could not, in the nature of things, continue indefinitely. It is subject to accumulating influences of retardation.

Take the growth of altruism, which most people assume to be

unadulterated gain. For such as take seriously to heart the fortunes of their fellows, the universe is irretrievably flawed ; nor can any amount of personal good fortune or material prosperity avail to re-establish their equanimity. ' Their soul is as a nerve o'er which do creep the else unfelt oppressions ' of the world.' The wider the range of the imagination, and the higher the moral nature, the more solid, obtrusive and disconcerting stand out the ultimate irreconcilable discordances in the constitution of things—the merciless brutality of chance, the fathomless mysteries of being, the wrench and rupture of inevitable bereavements, the final smash of Death's obliterating mace.

This widening imagination and extending social sympathy has not only the disadvantage of entailing vicarious affliction on its possessor, but in its aggregate effects, unaccompanied as it usually is by foresight and sagacious discrimination, it tends to militate against vigorous health and efficiency in the body politic. The sense of social solidarity, corresponding to the increased coherence of the evolving physical organism, has become so acute that it tends to foster and preserve the unfit, to shield the weak and worthless from the consequences of their weakness and worthlessness, thus interfering with the operation of natural selection, which, in the earlier stages of evolution, purges and eliminates from the race its inferior members. Accordingly, while the average longevity is on the increase, so also is the number of idlers, invalids and lunatics.

Compassion conserves the unworthy, instead of leaving them to the wolves that wait at the door of the improvident, the weak and the undisciplined ; and so the army of civilisation marches ever more slowly and laboriously, encumbered by an ever-lengthening retinue of parasitic camp-followers and sick and wounded. The parallel is close between the social and the individual organism. A crab or starfish will discard a wounded limb and grow another. Primitive man, bothered by an abscess or excrescence, will take a charred ember and burn it out ; whereas civilised man is so sensitive that he often allows some cancerous disease to take a hold upon his system, through shrinking from the distress involved in eradicating it at the outset ; and so with a highly civilised society.

It is probable that the only beneficence which is justified in the full account of its consequences is that directed to the relief of the unmerited and accidental misfortunes of life.

Not only, however, is progress (so called) impeded by the conservance of the unfit (so called) but also by the instability and impermanence of the higher types (so called). Those who diverge from the medial line do so at their peril, a peril which increases as the divergence increases, and as the individual grows more and more at odds with the surrounding conditions, which have been fashioned to the convenience of the bulk of average mankind. Hence we find among men and women of the most illustrious gifts an excessive percentage of casualties and fatalities, mental and physical. The early death or luckless fate of poets has become a by-word. So much so that Lombroso could make out a good case for treating genius as a form of disease, or at any rate an unhealthy departure from the normal. Moreover genius is not only individually, but racially, short-lived. The lower types multiply most abundantly, the higher types least. According to Spencer's generalisation fecundity is in inverse ratio to mental development, and this holds on the average throughout animated nature. In addition to natural checks on the survival of the higher types, we are increasingly confronted with artificial restriction of families, which is practised much more among the cultured and well-to-do, those best able to support offspring, than among the poor, ignorant and stolid. Hence the future race is fed from the lower rather than the higher levels, and the tendency is for the higher types (so called) to be swamped and choked out by the lower.

To use a military metaphor, man in process of civilisation is advancing ever further from his base ; the primitive instincts, easily satisfied by primitive means, are being drawn out, refined, combined and complicated till their physical origin and root is almost hidden from view. As the line of communications with the base lengthens, it becomes attenuated and more easily penetrable by hostile forces. Man can only guard his advance by slackening his pace and so lessening his risks ; but if he attempts to develop his refinements too far in an uncongenial and unprepared environment, he invites disaster. Thus there are other than altruistic arguments against building the palaces of pleasure and refinement too high, while the cave-dwellings and subterranean tenements of woe are darkened by deepening misery. Local or sporadic efforts to go too fast or far entail the inevitable relapse and re-action. Isolated

oases are sooner or later reconquered by the wilderness. The riper and more luscious the fruit, the more is it liable to predatory or parasitic invasion. Only as the general conditions of the entire world are bettered and levelled up, can the advance (for what it may be worth) be pushed on without peril. The super-civilised peoples go down time and again before their more brutal and vigorous neighbours.

Among individuals we find the same thing. Often those who have started in life with the highest ideals and principles, and who have suffered disaster or come to grief through or for them in the brutal clash of actualities, are seen to recoil in confusion and disarray upon their base, throwing away their laboriously acquired, or inherited, scruples, delicacies and restraints, and sometimes carried by the recoil into the opposite extreme of shameless and cynical materialism. They have found that to carry rigid principles to an extreme length in life is, under average conditions, as hard as to walk through a forest with a long pole in one's mouth. The choice is often between bending and being broken. Stern idealists prefer to be broken and set an heroic example to their fellows. Those of a softer temper give way and become demoralised.

Hence civilisation is constantly crumbling back into barbarism, idealism into materialism.

Take the differentiation of function—according to Spencer, a universal and characteristic feature of organic evolution both in animals and societies. It is far from being an absolute advantage. There is a constant tendency among the parts to develop a separatism of interests. What is good for one part or organ may be bad for another, or for all the rest. Just as the runner, or boxer, or philosopher, or gastronomer, may develop, severally, heart, or muscle, or brain, or stomach, to an extent which militates against his general well-being, so societies are at various times dominated, to the general detriment, by ecclesiastical, or kingly, or medical, or military tyranny.

Taking all these various drawbacks and impediments into consideration, it is possible to doubt whether civilisation, apart from physical inventions and comforts, has much further to go. Physical conditions fix a limit to mental and moral development, and it may be that the same causes which have been in balance to define and stereotype species in the lower ranks of life,

and to forbid their further advance or variation, may have also intervened, or be about to intervene, in the case of man to put a term to his further development.

However high man may climb, as a species or as an individual, he has to come down again ; a force like gravitation weights his heels. Everything built up, is, in the end, pulled down and dispersed. That is the essential tragedy. Every cell added to man's brain or nervous system has to die or decay. He may fall suddenly from his perilous exaltation, or death may drag him slowly back down the lacerating pathway that he climbed. The Future seems to show us an increasing population eating up the natural resources of the earth ; with a more distant prospect of climatic changes and ice-epochs, conducting to where, at the end of the vista, silence and the night again resume their reign over a sterile and tenantless planet.

Confronted and beset as man finds himself by dangers and death and mystery and confusion, it is not surprising that the history of human speculation presents one long travail in search of some formula of belief or theory of existence which should reconcile man with Fate, which should exalt and ennoble his destiny, govern his activities and nourish him with ultimate hope—in theological phrase, 'justify the ways of God to man.' While Science was in its infancy and the knowledge of cause and effect and the set sequences of Nature undeveloped, such systems were readily invented and easily accepted, but with the steady extension of knowledge and the growth of the critical faculty these dogmas have been more and more clearly revealing themselves as out of all relation with reality, and have been crumbling away from their own evident and hopeless inadequacy till, at his highest development, man finds himself like a caterpillar on the edge of a leaf feeling round for a foothold in vacancy.

Small wonder that in spite of poor laws, free education, free hospitals, free libraries, free music, and accumulating wealth and leisure, lunacy and suicide, almost unknown among primitive peoples, have long been steadily on the increase. According to Dr. Forbes Winslow, whereas in 1859 there was one lunatic to 536 of our population, at the present time the ratio is one in 277.

From whatever point of view we approach the problem, evil still presents itself as an organic and inexpugnable element

in the constitution of the universe. Most at least of the ills men lament are in the woof of things, a veritable shirt of Nessus. Nature is racked with internecine throes. Pain and disappointment, anguish and horror, are knotted into the very bowels of being and can only be abolished when hope and joy and happiness and life are abolished. Thousands of years ago the melancholy Hebrew would seem to have said the final word: 'That which is crooked cannot be made straight' and that which is wanting cannot be numbered.'

Is this then the end of all human effort and aspiration? Are we to look back on human history as on an endless passage of the Beresina, a long tumultuous rout of panic-stricken fugitives from Fate? Has man at length emerged into full self-consciousness only to realise that his doom is irremediable, that he is confronted by a sinister and implacable destiny? Is he to divine at last, through the veil he has so long striven to pierce, only a gleam of dreadful eyes and a frown of malignant intention?

It would be repugnant to leave the matter here without an attempt to sketch out the countervailing considerations.

While it can hardly be expected that such views of human fate could be absorbed into the circulation of men's thoughts without producing a certain lowering of the mental temperature, some slackening of the moral energies, some wastage of established ideals; yet on the other hand it would be easy to exaggerate the effect produced. Instinct, not logic, still governs men. It is certain that present life will go on even though ultimate hope should die. With the average man a long chain of inference, however close and unbreakable, can lead to no conclusion, however gloomy, that will weigh against present gratification and physical well-being. Spring sunshine, and wine, and the thrill of love or of conflict, will still make glad the heart of man, even though fears, like bats at twilight, fill his moments of solitude and depression. The will to live is not easily cast out. 'Here and Now' are vivid and indisputable whatever 'There and Then' may be.

Against absolute pessimism it can always be urged that if good involves evil, evil equally involves good. Moreover life, in its hedonic import, is, for each of us, largely what we choose or can contrive to think it. Even conditions that seem hardest and least endurable may, when we have accepted

and reconciled ourselves to them, grow genial and permissive ; but if we ask too much of life, insist on exacting of real life impossible idealities ; if we tune ourselves to too high a pitch ; if we draw on some other world, begot of our own fantastic imaginings, for principles to guide us in this, then we must suffer, and severely, though even then not without compensations.

Though we be forced to renounce hope in any permanent and far-reaching regeneration of the human lot, there is yet something to do. Each, as Voltaire said, has his garden to cultivate, though empires fall and stellar systems crash, and though the wilderness eventually reclaim the sown. Any improvement, however fleeting, is worth striving for. It is worth while to turn the sufferer on his couch of pain, even though it be necessary to turn him again an hour afterwards.

Moreover it is perhaps reasonable to hope that some of our most distressing social symptoms are special to the present epoch. No doubt men have always been prone to consider the age in which they live as unique ; but we have good reason for saying that the world in our time has entered a phase to which there is no parallel in history. The earth is explored and conquered. The nations are daily interwoven more closely by the ever-increasing facilities of locomotion, intercommunication, and commerce. The ideals and principles engendered and sustained in a different age and different conditions are coming up for re-trial and revision. The ever-widening extension of the human horizon, the accumulation of knowledge, the acquisition of new tastes and the corruption of old, the decay of ancient systems of belief and morality—all these have exposed the brain of civilised man to such a multiplicity of diverse and contradictory influences, that it is now confused, unsettled and distracted beyond any previous precedent in history.

From the practical point of view the most important thing to remember is that life must remain a modulation between extremes, and that evil is indestructible though not irreducible. The wise thing therefore in practical matters is not to suspect a course which fails to promise perfect results, but rather to suspect a course which does.

Here is perhaps the most useful function of our intellectuals : to maintain plasticity in the body politic and in the human

mind ; to keep the door open to new ideas—and to old ideas ; to pierce the hardening crust of convention ; to maintain relations of perception and understanding with the tendencies of the world at large. In short, the best objective of intelligent altruism must consist in the judicious anticipation, prompting, retarding, or guiding of new movements and in the smoothening of transitions ; for it is the abrupt clash and dislocating strain of irreducible antagonisms that cause agony, and agony is the worst thing that can happen.

Beyond this the intellectual altruist will have more and more to recognise and reconcile himself to the Sisyphean character of his task, to the lack of any possible finality in his best efforts and achievement. As his energies transform the conditions by which they were first evoked, they must be re-adjusted in accordance with the general alteration of values which they have assisted to effect.

Even for those to whom life is but a game, albeit a game of dreadful hazards, it is worth while learning the rules and playing it in accordance therewith. Law is as necessary to an effective and satisfactory life as to a game. Law sustains and envelops as well as restrains, like the influence of gravitation. It is as vital to life as the backbone to the body. He who violates for his personal advantage the laws, within which his fellows have consented to confine the gratification of their ambitions and appetites, is guilty of an offence equivalent to that of cheating at cards. Without law all is anarchy and decadence and collapse.

Nor is it necessary to suppose that life would lose its interest or excitement even if the views developed above were more generally accepted than they are ever likely to be. Though a general 'transvaluation' is making strides, and will make greater, there will be enough of energies and appetites left untouched, to make life worth living. Men are not likely to lie down 'on this brief day of frost and sun to sleep before evening.' Though there be little of permanence on a large scale to attempt, and still less that is probable of achievement, yet it is worth while for each, in his scope and measure, to attempt it. We are thus, in Dr. Johnson's words, 'driving on the system of life,' and to life the human race is irretrievably condemned.

E. B. McCORMICK.

NEW LIGHT ON BEETHOVEN

1. **Beethoven.** Par VINCENT D'INDY: *Biographie Critique, illustrée de quatorze reproductions hors texte.* Paris: Librairie Renouard. 1911.
2. **Beethoven.** Par ROMAIN ROLLAND. Paris. 1909.
3. **Beethoven.** By ERNEST WALKER, M.A., D.Mus. Second edition. John Lane.
4. **Beethoven's Letters: A Critical Edition, with Explanatory Notes.** By DR. A. C. KALISCHER. Translated, with preface, by J. S. Shedlock, B.A. Two volumes. London and New York. J. M. Dent and Co. 1909.

NO great composer has been more written about than Beethoven; like the Duke of Wellington, he has 'been much exposed to authors'; partly, no doubt, because the character of the man himself was so interesting and to some extent enigmatical, and the circumstances of his life unusually pathetic; partly because, with all the splendour of his genius and its vast influence on modern music, there is in the later phases of his art also something enigmatic; an element of mysticism; an apparent striving after effects beyond the reach of the materials of musical expression as now existing; even a certain tincture of megalomania, that 'last infirmity' of transcendent genius. Hence there have always been two camps among the most reverent admirers of his genius: on the one side those who look with most satisfaction on the clear, rounded, perfectly balanced compositions of the middle period of his musical life, after he had shaken off the influence of his immediate predecessors and come into his own kingdom; on the other side those who maintain that the true inwardness of Beethoven is only to be found in the more abnormal works of his latest period, the *Mass in D* and the later *Quartets*, where he seems to be searching for something greater and deeper than had ever been expressed in music before. It is the dilemma reasoned out in Browning's 'Andrea del Sarto':

'Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?'

The disciples of this latter faith are perhaps rather upheld by the idea that art must always be progressive: a fallacy which has led to many misunderstandings. Science, whether in its general course or in the work of any single investigator, is always progressive, because it deals with observed phenomena, and each new step is based on what preceded it; but it is not necessarily so with art. New means and new mechanism of expression may be progressively developed; but for the expression itself, it is like the Spirit, which bloweth where it listeth.

The appearance, for the first time, of a serious critical study of Beethoven by one who is himself a composer of distinction and not a mere critical writer on the art, is an event of some interest; and whether we can concur or not with all M. d'Indy's conclusions, there can be no question that his short, concentrated, and thoughtful treatise, in which not a word is wasted, is a publication worth serious attention, and one which is likely to leave its mark on our appreciations of Beethoven. Intimate knowledge of the art of music is of course no more than one would expect from the author; but M. d'Indy is something more than musician; his writing is that of a man of philosophic habit of thought and of wide reading in general literature, qualities which have unfortunately not often characterised the literary efforts of musicians; he even joins to his other acquirements that of an artist with the pencil, giving us a reproduction of his own sketch of the original grave and monument of Beethoven in the Währing cemetery (whence, we know not why, the composer's remains have subsequently been transferred to another resting-place); the stele in the centre is not quite right in perspective, but that is a common failing with amateur sketchers of architectural details. His book may be considered under three principal heads: the attempts to correct or throw a new light on some of the hitherto accepted facts in Beethoven's life; attempts to trace the extent to which the composer, in his early works, was indebted to some of his predecessors; and the author's critical analysis of the successive phases of Beethoven's music, and of their relative value and significance.

The last-named is, of course, the main point, and the real object of the book; but the two minor elements are not without interest, though we may think that in some of his

revisions of hitherto accepted facts the author has been rather influenced by what he thought ought to have been the case than by what could be proved on actual evidence. To one fact which has been rather overlooked he refers in a casual footnote, viz. that Beethoven was not really of German, but of Belgian, descent, his grandfather, the Capellmeister Ludwig van Beethoven, having been born at Antwerp, and having only at the age of twenty migrated to Bonn ; and M. Rolland, whose book is not much more than a pleasantly written reflective pamphlet, not unreasonably rather lays stress on this fact as accounting for Beethoven's 'indépendance fouguese' and for other traits in his character and his art which M. Rolland regards as un-German. He is right so far ; there are elements both in Beethoven's character and in his music which are not typically German, whether or not they are owing to his Belgian descent ; and his art is the richer for it. It is the one limitation in Bach that he is too intensely and exclusively German in the sentiment and style of his music ; Handel and Mozart are far more cosmopolitan, and Beethoven, though on one or two occasions he emphasised in words his idea that music at its best was a German art *par excellence*, was in his compositions more cosmopolitan than he was aware of. The first correction M. d'Indy has to make in regard to the assumed facts about Beethoven's life is that he was by no means the unhappy child, scolded and driven against his will to the piano by an irascible and drinking father, whose hard lot has excited compassion, as M. d'Indy expresses it, among 'des romantiques un peu trop atteints de la passion 'du malheur.' He relies on the description given by one Fischer, in a manuscript among the archives of the *Beethovenhaus* at Bonn, of an evening at No. 934 in the Rheingasse, where some musical friends were assembled to hear the little Ludwig, aged eight, play sonatas by Mozart or Emanuel Bach on the piano. Fischer was a baker and provision merchant who dealt with the local corporation of musicians, and was treated as a neighbour—the Beethoven ménage, though respectable, was not aristocratic—and the picture he draws is a pleasant one enough, including the figure of the mother, still young and good-looking, an excellent manager with some distinction in her manner, 'qui sait parler comme il sied aux 'plus humbles et aux plus grands personnages,' and whom

Beethoven remembered with affection all his life. Her death when he was seventeen, after which the widower, a tenor singer in the Electoral chapel, consoled himself with drinking, seems to have been really the only tragedy in the composer's boyish life. A silhouette of the boy at the age of sixteen, with a frill to his shirt in front and his hair in a *queue* behind, forms one of the illustrations, and beneath it is a view of the organ, or rather the keyboard and pedal-board of the organ, on which he had his earliest organ practice. The drawstops are awkwardly arranged, not at the sides, but above the keyboard opening; the child could hardly have reached them himself. It seems odd that Beethoven never did anything with the organ after his boyhood, and never composed a line for it except three juvenile and forgotten efforts, since he always expressed the greatest love for the instrument, and remarked once that an organist who was master of his instrument was the greatest of musical executants.

The account given by M. d'Indy of the amount of concert-playing on the pianoforte which Beethoven did during early years of his life in Vienna assists us in realising the fact that at this period of his career he was more thought of as a brilliant and accomplished executant and improviser on the pianoforte than as a composer of importance. M. d'Indy, though he alludes in passing to the well-known anecdote of Beethoven, when chapel organist at Bonn, putting out one of the solo-singers by a modulation which the singer did not understand, does not mention the incident of his transposing his own Concerto in C into C sharp, because the piano was a semitone flat, or he might have told us what he thinks of the account as given in the Appendix to the English edition of Schindler's biography. The statement there given is that at the first rehearsal of the Concerto the piano proved to be half a tone lower than the wind instruments; 'he desired these 'to tune in B (B flat in the English nomenclature) instead of 'in A, while he himself played his part in C sharp.' If the piano was a semitone lower than the wind instruments, raising his own part a semitone would have been all that was necessary, without troubling the wind instruments; there is some blunder in the telling of the story. The interesting point about it is that it proves his readiness and facility as an executant, as all the fingering would have to be altered on the moment. Another

well-known story that M. d'Indy does refer to, is that of Beethoven coming out from a composition lesson at Haydn's house, with his corrected counterpoint exercises in his hand, and his friend Schenck pointing out various uncorrected faults in them. The fact does not seem to be denied; M. d'Indy traverses it by the theory that Haydn was teaching him 'composition' in the broadest sense of the word, and not undertaking to correct exercises in counterpoint: a distinction which is a little too subtle.

Concerning Beethoven's relations with two ladies, Giulietta Guicciardi (afterwards Countess Gallenberg) and Bettina Brentano, M. d'Indy has a good deal to say. He entirely adopts the view that it was Giulietta (to whom the Sonata in C sharp minor is dedicated) who was the great passion of the composer's life, the 'immortal beloved' of the letters which have been long known to the world; and this opinion is strikingly confirmed by the extracts from one of Beethoven's conversation-books (a conversation with Schindler) given, in Dr. Kalischer's collection, as an appendix to the four celebrated love-letters. In the course of this conversation occurs Beethoven's chivalrous remark in regard to the successful lover, Count Gallenberg (Beethoven's part in the conversation-book seems to have been carried on in a peculiar French of his own)—'Il étoit toujours mon ennemi, et c'est justement la 'raison que je fusse tout le bien que possible'; he had, in fact, procured the Count some money when he was very much in want of it. Schindler replies satirically: 'That is why he also 'said to me "he is an unbearable man," out of pure gratitude 'probably.' M. d'Indy brushes away contemptuously the theory that the Countess Thérèse de Brunswick, to whom the Sonata in F sharp is dedicated, was the adored object, but for a very bad reason in a musical sense; what man gifted with artistic sense, he asks, could believe for a moment that 'the 'insipid Sonata in F sharp,' the only work dedicated to the Countess Thérèse, could be a homage to the same lady to whom the passionate love-letters were addressed? That is hardly the way to speak of a composition of singular beauty and perfection of form, which the composer himself valued highly; Dr. Walker is much more just in characterising it as 'a work small in 'dimensions but large in style'; it was long neglected, but has latterly become a great favourite with pianists. The portrait

of Giulietta Guicciardi is that of an exceedingly pretty woman with a mouth expressive of much weakness of character ; she could never have been a companion for Beethoven. As to that sentimental little butterfly, Bettina Brentano, it is rather a relief to find great suspicion cast on the authenticity of that letter of Beethoven's to her, in which he is made to describe how, at Teplitz, he walked right through the train of High Transparencies and Serenities with his hat on, in order to show Goethe, in whose company he was, how he could *brusquer* the aristocracy ; how the Empress bowed to him first, etc., and how he chaffed Goethe afterwards for his false modesty in standing aside ; a story which, as M. d'Indy remarks, speaks much better for the politeness of the grandees than of Beethoven. It appears that the original of this letter has never been seen by any one. Why, asks M. d'Indy, since the Countess von Arnim (Bettina was now married) was herself at Teplitz at the time, as the list of visitors shows, should Beethoven have *written* to her ? Why did she give, herself, a quite different account of the scene in a letter to Pückler-Muskau ? ' Voilà ' bien des pourquoi.' It seems not unlikely that the irrepressible Bettina concocted, or at least edited, the letter herself, and gave it to admiring friends as a copy of a letter of Beethoven's to her. Some incident of the kind she mentions may have occurred, and any banter of Beethoven's to Goethe on the occasion may have been the cause of the poet's subsequent coolness and refusal to answer Beethoven's letters. His sympathy with music was rather limited, and in any case one can hardly fancy the impetuous Beethoven and the stately Goethe forming a very congenial pair.

Beethoven's brothers, Johann and Carl, may have been rather too roughly handled by the biographers. They were, poor men, a couple of as ingrained philistines as ever walked, and Ludwig must have been a sore puzzle to them ; but he speaks of them often with kindness in his letters, of Carl especially, whom he materially helped to set up in life ; and one is left to the conclusion that their main fault was stupidity, and a total inability to understand the great abnormal man of genius who had fallen from heaven into the family. The nephew it does not seem possible to whitewash. He was evidently clever enough, and there are indications of his having pleasant manners in his boyhood, but as a young man he

showed himself only too plainly as what he was : the bad son of a bad mother, at once dissolute and heartless. Beethoven's letters in the main, except for the love-letters above referred to, and those which deal with musical points in regard to his compositions, are not of very high interest ; they are full of bad jokes ; he was an inveterate punster, and even when charitably exerting himself to raise a small fund for Bach's daughter, who was in needy circumstances, he could pun upon her name, and express the hope ' that this brook may not ' be dried up yet.' But few things in epistolary literature are so pathetic as the series of letters in which the prematurely old composer, worried and in ill-health, alone with his deafness and his genius, prays and entreats for the love of the nephew in whom he had hoped to find a son, and whom he longed to reclaim from the error of his ways. One example may serve :

' *Baden, 5th October (?) 1825.*

[Written at the top.]

' For God's sake do come home again to-day, who knows what danger may be threatening you, hasten, hasten.'

' MY DEAR SON,

Only nothing further—only come to my arms, you shall hear no harsh word. For heaven's sake do not rush to destruction—you will be received as ever with affection—as to considering what is to be done in future, we will talk over this in a friendly way, no reproaches on my word on honour, for it would be of no use. You need only expect from me the most loving help and care.

' Only come—come to the faithful heart of your father,

' BEETHOVEN.

' Come home at once on receipt of this.'

And beneath the address comes again the passionate adjuration, this time underlined in the poor dear man's peculiar French—' *Si vous ne viendrez pas vous me tuéres surement.*' Truly, considering all the circumstances, it is a document to wring tears from the heart.

Coming to the second part of our subject, the extent to which Beethoven was indebted to preceding composers, M. d'Indy has some interesting things to say. He sums up the subject by concluding that Beethoven drew from Emanuel Bach his pianoforte style ; from Wilhelm Rust, the Dessau composer, his *pensée créatrice* ; from Haydn his impeccable architecture. Generalisations like this are perhaps rather

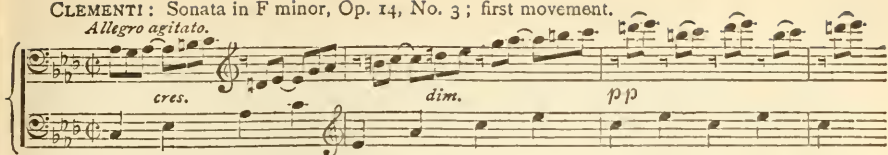
dangerous ; but there seems to be some truth in these. The first pianoforte Sonata is very much in Haydn's style ; and if we compare Haydn's Sonata in G, No. 1 in Pauer's edition, with Beethoven's in the same key, Op. 14, we have almost the illusion, for a moment, of looking at the same work, so similar in some places is the treatment, though Beethoven's is much the more expressive composition. The reference to the works of Rust is of still more interest, for in these there is a power and a modernity of manner in the treatment of the pianoforte which brings them much nearer to us than anything which Haydn wrote for the instrument. Rust appears to have written about forty pianoforte Sonatas, but these were not, till recently, to be come at in London ; the British Museum had none of them, and only a selection of them could be found in a modern edition.* This, however, contains the principal works referred to by M. d'Indy, and serves to show that Rust, as a pianoforte composer, was at all events no unworthy precursor of Beethoven, and should be better known. When, however, M. d'Indy goes into detail on this subject, he seems in some cases to have discovered a little too much. A mere identity or resemblance in the position, the melodic relation, of notes in passages in two different works is not so much a proof of influence from one to the other as a similarity of feeling and expression in the two passages, and of the mood of the compositions ; otherwise one might suppose that the first subject in the Eroica Symphony was derived from Mozart's boyish opera 'Bastien et Bastienne,' which it is absurd to think of ; it is a mere accidental coincidence. M. d'Indy says that the 'quatre notes fatidiques,' the three D flats and the C, in the Sonata Appassionata, 'se rencontrent déjà' in Rust's Sonata in F sharp minor and in Haydn's Sonata dedicated to Mme. Genziger. Rust certainly has an incident of three repeated notes rising (not falling) a semitone to a fourth note, but they are in slower time and introduced with a quite different effect ; and the Haydn

* The writer is indebted to the courtesy of Messrs. Novello & Co. for enabling him to inspect some compositions which should have been, but were not, in more than one musical library. Some of Rust's Sonatas have, however, since been added to the British Museum collection.

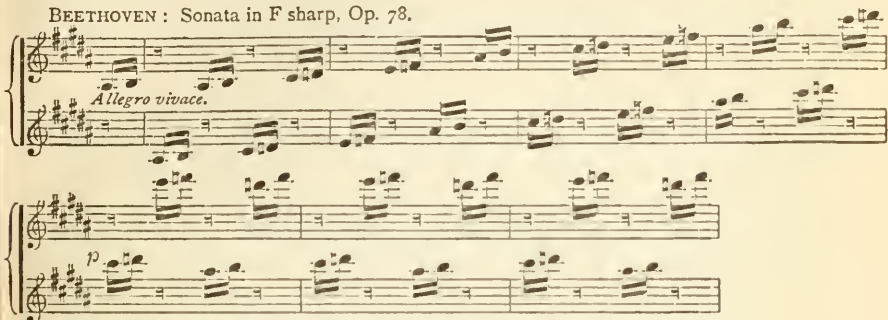
passage to which he refers, and which it is rather difficult to identify, comes no nearer to the mark. He finds again the subject of the finale of Beethoven's Sonata in C sharp minor (he evidently means the *second* subject, but does not say so) in Emanuel Bach's Würtemberg Sonata in A flat; there certainly is a passing phrase with nearly the same intervals, but it has no resemblance whatever in general expression with Beethoven's fiery outpouring. On the other hand, it is surprising that the French author makes no mention of the possible influence of Clementi on Beethoven. At the time when Beethoven was chiefly known as a young pianist, Clementi represented the most advanced technique of the pianoforte; his great work, the 'Gradus ad Parnassum,' is still one of the most important study-books for the mastery of the piano. And there is one very curious piece of evidence of Beethoven's familiarity with Clementi's compositions, which does not seem to be generally known. Clementi's Sonatas are for the most part rather square-cut and formal, from the point of view of the present day; but the one in F minor, No. 3 of his Op. 14, is rather exceptional, and may still pass for an interesting and impassioned composition; and the first movement of this contains the germ of passages in three different Sonatas of Beethoven's, not in the shape of mere formal resemblance of notation, but resemblance of idea and effect. The parallel passages are transcribed on the next page. In No. 1 the passages look very different to the eye, because one is formed out of triplets and the other of even groups of notes, but their similarity of effect when played cannot escape any one. In No. 2 the resemblance is obvious to the eye, only Beethoven has drawn out the passage at greater length. In No. 3 the resemblance is also obvious; and both passages occur in exactly the same situation in the composition, viz. as link passages in the working-out section. These are not, of course, to be thought of as plagiarisms; they are instances of unconscious memorising; but Beethoven must in his youth have liked that Sonata very much, and played it very often, for memories of it to have cropped out in three works written at different periods.

In his general consideration of Beethoven's genius M. d'Indy belongs frankly to the camp of the progressists, of those who regard the compositions of the latest period as representing the

CLEMENTI : Sonata in F minor, Op. 14, No. 3 ; first movement.
Allegro agitato.



BEETHOVEN : Sonata in F sharp, Op. 78.



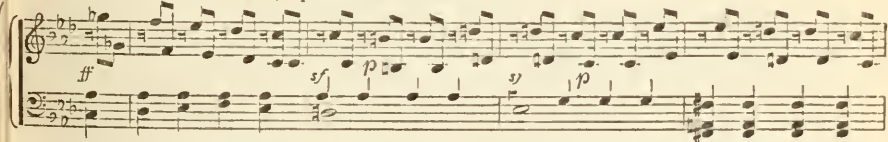
CLEMENTI : same Sonata ; close of first section.



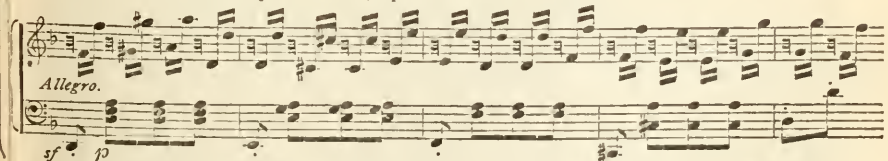
BEETHOVEN : Sonata Op. 31, No. 3 ; close of Scherzo.



CLEMENTI : same Sonata ; episode in second section.



BEETHOVEN : Sonata Op. 10, No. 2 ; episode in second section.



REMINISCENCES OF CLEMENTI IN BEETHOVEN'S PIANOFORTE SONATAS.

highest attainment of the composer's genius. He sets out by emphasising the theory that with every great genius, whether in poetry, painting, or music, there are always three periods of style to be recognised—*imitation, transition, réflexion*. In the first period he expresses himself in the forms and the style of his predecessors. In the second period he endeavours to walk alone :

'prenant plus vivement conscience des mouvements joyeux ou douloureux de son âme, c'est lui-même qu'il voudra, non sans hésitations et sans tâtonnements, exprimer dans son art. . . . Et enfin, lorsque l'homme de génie, las d'exprimer ses propres joies et ses propres peines, dédaigneux ou peu soucieux des ambiances, saura condenser en lui-même son incessante aspiration vers la pure beauté, ce sera l'instant, pour les très grands, de la transformation suprême, l'instant des œuvres d'Art pur, de Foi et d'Amour.'

That this is always the case with the life-work of men of genius is perhaps rather too large an assumption ; that the works of Beethoven do fall, very obviously, into this threefold partition has long been recognised ; it is equally true of Turner, whose genius had some analogy with that of Beethoven ; it is conspicuously the case with the organ compositions of Bach, in which the three periods of style are as distinctly recognisable as in Beethoven's pianoforte compositions ; but with Bach, the great constructor in music, who always had his materials well in hand, the supreme excellence of the works of the latest period is more incontrovertible than in the case of Beethoven. Bach never slackened his complete grasp of form ; in fact, in his latest works form is refined to the uttermost detail, which certainly cannot be said to be the case with Beethoven. M. d'Indy's expression as to 'aspiration vers la pure beauté' in the latest period of a great artist's life-work fits Beethoven exactly ; that was evidently his intellectual attitude in the composition of the Mass in D and of the later Quartets ; he was in search of an ideal beauty beyond the limits of music as previously understood. The question is, did he attain it ?

The emphasis laid on Beethoven's later works in much recent criticism has led, among other things, to an undue depreciation or neglect of his earlier productions. M. d'Indy brushes aside 'Adelaïda,' 'cette *œuvrette*,' as a romance 'neither better nor worse than the innumerable romances of the same period,'

for which he was patted on the back by a London newspaper critic, a fling at any popular work making always good journalistic copy. It is certainly absurd that the English public should for many years have known Beethoven chiefly through that song and the 'Sonate Pathétique' (according to Lenz the worship of that particular Sonata was just as flagrant in Germany), and that the various arrangements of 'Adelaida' should fill many pages of the British Museum music catalogue (the late Dr. Wesley used to play it as an organ piece). It is known that its ultra-popularity was an irritation to the composer, and the English lady who praised it rapturously to him (see the Appendix to Schindler, vol. i.) and recorded that 'he modestly remarked that the poetry was beautiful,' mistook for modesty what was really an evasion of praise that annoyed him. But Beethoven himself was not sound on his earlier works; he would have liked to wipe out the 'Thirty-two Variations,' a masculine and vigorous composition which forms a kind of condensed epitome of pianoforte technique, and is still a favourite with great pianists; and that 'Adelaida' was made too much of in comparison with other works does not alter the fact that it is an exquisite song, to which few are the tenor singers who can do full justice. If it is 'neither better nor worse than other romances,' let them produce some that are equal to it! M. d'Indy thinks the interest of the 'Sonate Pathétique' lies more in its architecture than in the music, and makes the enigmatical remark that 'un motif cyclique de quatre notes : *sol, ut, ré, mi bémol*, procède à la formation des trois morceaux de l'œuvre': a 'motif' which it will puzzle the student to dig out. Dr. Walker does more justice to the work, but both writers seem to wonder why it was labelled 'Pathétique.' It ought to be obvious enough. The style of the first Allegro is as great a breaking away from anything that had preceded it in pianoforte music as the first movement of the 'Eroica' is in symphony music; the label refers mainly to the first Allegro, and is a kind of apologetic explanation of its style; it is as if the composer had said: 'This is something different from what you have been used to in pianoforte music, but it is meant to express passionate feeling, not pianoforte passages.' In other respects the Sonata is one of those compositions which are absolutely perfect in form down to the minutest detail; so is the Sonata Op. 26, which Dr. Walker dismisses much too

lightly, regarding even the Funeral March as 'hardly Beethoven 'at his greatest'; it is a grand movement in a grand and broad style, and the passage of modulation which closes the principal section sounds (as Dr. Crotch said of the *canto fermo* of Bach's St. Ann's Fugue) 'as if it ought to be fired off by 'cannon'; the pianoforte is inadequate to give full effect to it. Even the second Sonata is a far greater advance on previous pianoforte music than is generally recognised; it has been revived in the concert-room lately, when a musical critic in the 'Times,' who had apparently never heard it before (!), found the noble slow movement, with its broad orchestral style, 'dull.' Granting all the wider and deeper interest, intellectually, of the works of Beethoven's late period, that is no excuse for ignoring the high artistic and expressive qualities of many of the earlier compositions.

The lofty aim in his art which Beethoven set out with from the first, is apparent in his reluctance to range any of his earliest compositions among acknowledged and catalogued productions. Previous to the three Trios for pianoforte and strings which were considered worthy to rank as Opus 1, M. d'Indy estimates that there were no fewer than forty-nine compositions, including three for the organ, eleven for the piano, seventeen for various forms of chamber-music, etc.; so cautious was the young composer in placing his works seriously before the world. He intended the highest always, and was content that his early efforts should pass into oblivion. He was equally cautious in attacking the larger forms of orchestral music, not venturing on his first orchestral work, the Symphony in C, till after he had produced thirty-five compositions in chamber-music and two Concertos; and even in this first Symphony he did not venture to break new ground very decidedly; the Symphony (Op. 21) is a far younger work in style and manner than the 'Sonate Pathétique,' published as Op. 13.

We need not follow M. d'Indy through all his suggestions as to the circumstances or feelings which he imagines as influencing the works of Beethoven's second period; they may be true or not; they are not susceptible of proof. The Sonata Appassionata (not so named by the composer) does imply, as he says, a state of great turmoil of mind; whether induced by feelings of disappointed love or not, we shall never get any key to

it, nor do we want any other than the music itself ; Beethoven's answer to Schindler's question about it, to 'read 'Shakespeare's "Tempest,"' was palpably a mere evasion to keep Schindler quiet. But one thing mentioned by M. Rolland in connexion with this Sonata is too piquant to pass over ; it was played to Bismarck, by one Robert de Kendell, 'on a bad 'piano,' at Versailles on the 30th of October 1870. What a combination of associations ! Bismarck, at the close, remarked, with some perception, that it contained 'the struggle and the 'sorrow of a whole lifetime' ; as Dr. Walker says : 'None of 'Beethoven's works is more emotionally unified than this, and 'none is more powerful in conception' ; he also takes the occasion to put in a word for the small two-movement Sonata in F, Op. 54, somewhat unduly neglected, being overshadowed by the two great works which precede and follow it in order of publication. M. d'Indy's idea of the Waldstein Sonata, Op. 53, as being 'essentially pastoral' in character, will hardly find adherents ; his detailed analysis of the Pastoral Symphony, and the means by which its specially pastoral atmosphere is produced, especially by the selection for the theme of the first movement of a very simple melody restrained within the range of a few notes, is interesting and suggestive ; the remark that the composer had kept entirely to major keys until he came to the storm, in order to give greater effect of gloom to the latter, is not strictly correct ; there is a modulation into G minor in the lovely second movement. In regard to the 'Parting, Absence, and Return' Sonata, M. d'Indy is contemptuous as to the French title 'Les Adieux,' and there is some light thrown on this point in Beethoven's letter to Breitkopf and Härtel, the publishers, where he says :—'I have 'just received "Das Lebewohl," I see that you really have 'other copies with French title ; but why ? *Lebewohl* is something very different from *Les Adieux* ; the first is said in a 'hearty manner to a single person, the other to a whole assembly, 'to whole towns.' It is curious to read that the originating fact of this sonata (one of the finest) was only the enforced departure from Vienna of his friend Archduke Rudolf ; but if so, his genius ran away with him : it is distinctly a passionate love sonata ; no one could play or hear the conclusion of the first Allegro without feeling that. The tremendous fugue which closes the Op. 106 Sonata the French critic does not quite

defend ; ' fugue étrange, tourmentée,' he truly calls it, though he thinks it produces an *effet foudroyant* in the hands of a player adequate to the task. Dr. Walker thinks that most musicians must regret that the divine slow movement should be followed by ' these strange pages, with their odd contortions, such as ' the presentation of the whole long theme tail foremost,' as he rather oddly puts it. Inverting the subject of a fugue, so that the high notes of its design become the low notes, is, as every one knows, a favourite device with Bach ; what Beethoven did here was that instead of inverting the subject vertically he has inverted it horizontally. With a short subject the device might be effective musically ; with such a long and elaborate subject as this one it is hardly realised except on paper. Beethoven himself was persuaded that this was one of the compositions that people ' would care for some day ' ; in a sense he was right, for great pianists vie with each other in performing it ; but it may be doubted whether any audience ever really obtained enjoyment from hearing it, if they would say the truth.

The mention of this fugue anticipates M. d'Indy's third section, on the compositions of the latest period, when at all events Beethoven himself believed that he had reached the highest landmark of his powers. In 1817 he said to Cipriani Potter, who spoke of the success of a performance of his early Septuor (probably in London) : ' I knew nothing of composition ' then ; now, I know how to compose.' To compose, M. d'Indy continues—what does that imply ?

' En toutes choses humaines, en art surtout, on distingue la *matière* et la *forme*. Formuler la matière musicale et l'ordonner de façon à la mettre en œuvre n'est-ce pas là toute la composition ?

' En musique, l'agent principal de l'œuvre est ce que nous appelons *thème* ou *idée*. On peut en donner la définition suivante : l'*idée* musicale est constituée au moyen d'éléments sonores, fournis par l'*imagination*, choisis par le *cœur*, mis en ordre par l'*intelligence*.'

That is very well put ; and he goes on to quote from old Dittersdorf some remarks on the futility of creative genius without culture, and Beethoven's remark (he does not say when or to whom) that ' to become a composer one should have ' studied harmony and counterpoint for seven to eleven years, ' to be accustomed to bend one's invention to rules, when ' the imagination and the sentiment shall have awakened.'

Beethoven evidently did work hard at his counterpoint exercises in his youth, and the fine points of imitation introduced in his instrumental compositions show the result. But the author goes on to suggest that the result of Beethoven's reflexion, when, after more than twenty years of a career filled with great works, he said that he now 'knew how to compose,' was a return to traditional forms treated on a larger scale. There seems no evidence that Beethoven ever actually said anything of the kind; this is rather the French critic's explanation of the late-period Quartets and the Mass in D. As to much of the music of the Quartets, difficult as many parts of them are both to play and to follow, this may be truly maintained, but one can hardly admit that Beethoven, in returning to the fugue form so much in his later works, had extended a form which Bach had made perfect; he rather showed that it was a form which, on a large scale, he could not handle with success. As already observed, the Fugue in the Op. 106 Sonata cannot be called a musical success; but M. d'Indy is prepared to espouse the cause of the Quartet Fugue, Op. 133, which he regards as extraordinarily interesting and 'encore de la très belle musique.' The present writer has never heard it attempted, but it appears that so masterly a quartet-leader as Joachim regarded it as practically unplayable, and Dr. Walker characterises it as 'practically unintelligible.' So far as one can study it on the page, it seems a piece of megalomania. That in a good many portions of the later Quartets Beethoven did rise higher than in any previous Quartet-music—that he achieved a kind of ideal of abstract beauty in music (as, for instance, in the *Cavatina* of the B-flat Quartet) is quite true; even that 'mysterious and elusive movement,' as Dr. Walker calls it, the *Adagio* in the Lydian Mode in Op. 132, becomes more comprehensible if we realise that the composer chose to write an instrumental hymn in the old Church style, with instrumental interludes in a free style between the verses (very much what he did also in the slow movement of the Ninth Symphony). That other movements in these Quartets seem obscure in design and ungrateful to the ear is probably partly owing to the composer's deafness. Of the essential relations of musical sounds he would be as clearly conscious as if he could hear them; but the effects of *timbre*, of the idiosyncrasies and imperfections of instruments, which

are not essentials but accidentals of music, he might well have forgotten, and in his own mind heard these compositions given with an imagined effect which could not be realised in actual mechanical performance. As Dr. Walker observes, with a happy application of a line of Wordsworth, he was in this respect as one 'moving about in worlds not realised.'

But M. d'Indy's theory of Beethoven's return to traditional forms on a larger scale is more especially applied to the explanation of the composer's intentions in composing the Mass in D, and some of his remarks on this subject are of considerable interest. He is very anxious that we should accept this great work as being, though not a composition for liturgical use (its length putting that out of the question), a composition not only religious but 'essentiellement Catholique,' and is rather indignant at those who have regarded it purely as a work of art and with no other aim. Beethoven was all his life in the widest and best sense a religious man; but though he received the Last Sacraments on his death-bed, the impression conveyed generally by his recorded remarks of a religious kind would be that during most of his life he was rather what would be called a Pantheist than a churchman; his grand little song, 'Creation's Hymn,' is essentially a Pantheist's hymn; and the Mass in D has certainly little enough of church feeling about it, except in some isolated passages. It is significant, however, to learn that in 1818 he passed hours in the Archduke Rudolf's library poring over the works of Palestrina, a fact which goes to support M. d'Indy's theory that he meant to use traditional forms on a larger scale; it was to this study, perhaps, that we owe such passages in the Mass as that strange and solemn one at the words *Et incarnatus est*, to which Dr. Walker specially calls attention. M. Rolland quotes from a letter of the composer to a German organist named Freudenberg, to the effect that 'pure church music should be executed by voices alone, except the *Gloria*, or some other text of the same kind. That is why I prefer Palestrina; but (he adds) it would be absurd to imitate him, without possessing his spirit and his religious conceptions.' It would have been of more value if M. Rolland had given the date and circumstances of the letter; it is not in Dr. Kalischer's collection; apart from this, the remark, as bearing on M. d'Indy's views, might cut either

way. There is also the interesting letter to Streicher, dated Vienna, the 16th of September 1824 :

‘ I willingly comply with your wish, my worthy friend, to send to several choral societies the vocal parts of my last great Mass, together with a score for organ or piano, because these societies at public, and especially at sacred festivals, can produce a powerful impression on audiences ; and in writing this great Mass it was my chief aim to awaken, and to render lasting, religious feeling as well in the singers as in the hearers.’

This seems to settle the question of the composer’s devout intention in the Mass, however difficult it may be to reconcile this idea with the rather theatrical military music used to intensify (by contrast) the prayer *Dona nobis pacem*, and with the *bravura* choral fugue *Et vitam venturi saeculi*, over the composition of which Schindler found the composer stamping and tearing his hair, and which is such an absolute scramble for the singers as to leave them, surely, little scope for the indulgence of devotional feeling ; in this respect how different from the clear ‘ singable ’ fugue, *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, in his earlier Mass, which M. d’Indy never even once alludes to, and which has been almost shelved in England in favour of its vaster but far less comprehensible successor. There seems to be a kind of megalomania among audiences nowadays ; they prefer always the largest and most difficult works ; and though it is true that in parts of the Mass in D Beethoven rises to heights which he did not attain in the earlier work, the latter is a far better balanced and artistic whole.

The French author goes into raptures, of course, over the choral *finale* of the Ninth Symphony, while Dr. Walker (who in the main is a far sounder critic) does not scruple to say, what many hearers must have felt and dared not say, that :

‘ A good many pages are simply dull, and the boisterousness with which the words are often set has hardly any element of the grandeur of masterpieces like the *finale* of the A major Symphony, and occasionally indeed comes as perilously near mere convivial joviality as great music can. It is as idle to deny this as it is to deny the overwhelming majesty of every page of the first three movements.’

The now known fact that Beethoven himself was dissatisfied with this choral *finale*, and contemplated substituting a purely instrumental one, is an amusing commentary on the use

made of it by Wagner as an indication that instrumental music was admitted by Beethoven to have arrived at its limits, and must henceforth be united with voices. One can hardly mention the Ninth Symphony without referring to the interesting correspondence in the 'Times' recently, between Sir C. Stanford and Mr. Speyer, on the vexed question of the speed at which the middle movement of the Scherzo should be taken. Sir C. Stanford is undoubtedly right in condemning the breakneck speed for the Trio indicated by the metronome mark 116 to the semibreve, which he thinks arose from the tail of a minim having been cut off by the binder. On the other hand, 116 to the minim is too dragging a time for the character of the music. Beethoven's letter to Schott in Dr. Kalischer's collection gives 116 to the minim for both sections of the movement, with no dot after the first (triple-time) minim, which is so obviously wrong that it is surprising that the English translator, Mr. Shedlock, has no comment to make on it. There was evidently a great deal of confusion of correspondence about the metronome times of the Symphony—Beethoven wrote them differently in different letters, and was very angry when this was pointed out to him. My conviction is that the direction 'Presto' refers *only* to the two bars immediately after the triple-time movement, and that a new time-direction should have been placed after that, and was overlooked. That kind of quick snap, as one may call it, before the entrance of a new measure of the movement, would be quite in Beethoven's manner. That he should have intended the Trio to be carried on at the same speed is quite opposed to the character of the music.

M. d'Indy is surely quite mistaken in reading Beethoven's remark in his last illness, 'Plaudite, amici, comœdia finita est,' as a satirical shaft directed against the doctors who had been consulting over him; it was the calm and philosophic acceptance of the fact of impending dissolution; though, as Schindler observes, he would have characterised his own career better had he said, 'Drama finitum est.' While M. d'Indy's information about Beethoven's study of Palestrina in his latter days is interesting and significant, he says nothing to give the least ground for Wagner's declaration, in his usual exaggerated phraseology, that 'Bach's wonder-work became his bible.' Because Wagner had set up a special worship of Bach, he

was determined that Beethoven should be in the same boat with him ; but there is no evidence for it. If any one composer was a ' bible ' to Beethoven, it was Handel, but in these days of course it is ' flat blasphemy ' to say or to remember this ; and in Grove's article in the ' Dictionary of Music ' all Beethoven's remarks about Handel, which are among the most interesting of his recorded sayings, are studiously ignored and omitted. One point which Dr. Walker makes in regard to ' Beethoven's music as a whole ' may be noted, viz. that it includes ' a considerable amount of material ' which the music-lover can afford to disregard.' Perhaps ' considerable ' is rather too extensive a phrase ; but it is true that, for so great a composer, he produced at times very weak music : things apparently flung off without serious intent of either heart or head, and which contrast rather strangely with his usual sternly conscientious view of his art. One must recognise this, and then forget it ; his great works are sufficient to efface these lapses. Few great geniuses have had so unhappy a life, but perhaps his consciousness of power and his belief in his future fame were some compensation ; at all events, he has built himself a monument in the love and emotion of millions of hearers whose hearts have been stirred by his music :

' And so sepulchred, in such pomp doth lie,
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.'

H. HEATHCOTE STATHAM.

INDIAN STUDENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN

1. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 41. 30th of July 1912.
2. Appointment to the Service Examinations. Reprinted from the 'Indian Medical Gazette,' Vol. xlvii, by Lieut.-Colonel D. G. CRAWFORD, I.M.S. (ret'd.). 1912.
3. Report on . . . Technical Institutions . . . in India. Calcutta. Government Press. 1912.
4. Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt. By J. N. GUPTA. Dent. 1911.
5. Handbook of Information for Indian Students. 13th edition. J. S. Phillips. 1911.
6. The Times files, 1907-12. Articles on Indian Students.

THE recent reorganisation by the India Office of its arrangements for the help and guidance of Indians studying in Great Britain has drawn public attention to the many important problems arising from the sojourn in this country of some 1700 or 1800 Indians in the impressionable years of youth. Some at least of these problems must engage the attention of the Public Services Commission now assembling in India, and the time is therefore peculiarly opportune for surveying the circumstances under which the system arose and grew to its present remarkable dimensions.

A century and more ago it was no uncommon thing for the 'Nabobs' who had served John Company to bring with them, when they retired, their personal Indian servants; but the first Indian of intellectual consequence to come to England was the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, Raja Rammohan Roy, who arrived in April 1831 and, succumbing to our uncertain climate, died at Stapleton Grove, Bristol, on the 27th of September 1833. Though Rammohan Roy came partly to gain insight into Western customs and institutions, his purpose was not educational in the technical sense. The first actual Indian student in the United Kingdom was a Parsi convert, the late Rev. Dhunjeebhoy Nowrojee, who was brought over by his spiritual father, Dr. John Wilson, in 1843. He was educated at the Free Church College, Edinburgh, and there ordained in 1846. This example was quickly followed by

Wuzeer Beg, the son of a Mahommedan messman in Poona, who after being ordained in Edinburgh went to Australia, where he laboured for many years as a Presbyterian minister.

In 1845 Surgeon Henry Hurry Goodeve, Professor of Midwifery and Anatomy in Calcutta, brought to England four Indians to complete their medical education at University College, London. Three of them took the M.R.C.S. in 1848 and returned to India. The other, Surjor Coomar Chuckerbutty (who subsequently became a Christian, and assumed the name of his patron Dr. Goodeve before his last name), took the M.R.C.S. in 1848 and the M.D.Lond. in the following year. On his return to India, he obtained an appointment in the uncovenanted service as two of his fellow-students in England had already done. By the Charter Act of 1853 the Indian Medical Service was thrown open to competition, and Chuckerbutty headed the list at the first open examination held in London in January 1855. Up to the 1st of October 1860 only two other Indians succeeded in passing the I.M.S. examination, but presumably others had tried and failed. In subsequent years the proportion of Indian successes steadily increased, and for a long time past a substantial proportion of I.M.S. men have been Indians.

In respect to the Indian Civil Service, it was not until the ninth open competition, in 1863, that an Indian name appeared on the list. This distinction was gained by Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, a Brahmo belonging to a family of remarkable gifts which has held the intellectual leadership of Bengal through several generations. Mr. Tagore studied at University College, London, and it is interesting to record that soon after his success was announced the first Indian mercantile firm to establish a branch in London, Messrs. Cama and Company (of which the venerable Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was a member), sent a donation of £3000 to the College funds in acknowledgment of the advantages it afforded Indians 'in enabling them 'to obtain a College education without interference with the 'religious creed inherited by them from their ancestors.' The admission of Indians at King's College came many years later, in the early 'eighties, when three Indians worked in the Medical Faculty and one in Engineering; but it was not until the present century that Indian students were regularly entered

at King's College in considerable numbers for medical and engineering education.

Although Oxford possessed in Max Müller, Monier-Williams, Jowett and others, warm friends of the natives of India, it was not until November 1871 that an Indian matriculated at that university. In the previous month a Siamese gentleman named, according to Foster's 'Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886,' Sootchai Bhanuwongse, had matriculated. The first Indian was Surajbal Manphul, from Oriel. Foster shows that only twenty-two Orientals, fifteen of them Indians, had matriculated at Oxford up to 1888. Cambridge has some years' precedence of the sister university in this matter. An Indian Mahommedan, Mirza Hoossein Khan, went into residence at Christ's College in 1865, and three years later a second Indian, Ananda Mohan Bose, entered the same college. Bose graduated as sixteenth Wrangler in 1874, and was a man of much distinction. His brother, who also went to Christ's, is Professor Jagadis Chandra Bose, the distinguished physicist. The third Indian to come to Cambridge was Syed Mahmúd, son of the famous Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Mahmúd was called to the Bar and subsequently became a judge of the High Court of Allahabad, but died comparatively young.

It should be mentioned that Syed Mahmúd came to England as a selected Government scholar. The slowness with which religious and caste scruples against crossing the 'black water' were being worn down had long exercised the mind of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, and in 1868 his Government issued a resolution offering nine scholarships every year in order to encourage Indians 'to resort more freely to England for the purpose of perfecting their education and of studying for the various learned professions or for the Civil and other Services of the country.' No candidate was to be less than sixteen or more than twenty years of age. The scholarships were for three years, and a liberal allowance was to be made for passage money and outfit, both on leaving and returning to India. Each scholar was to have the power of selecting once for all the course of study he would follow. Should he go to a university not having a collegiate system, he ought, wrote the Government of India to the Secretary of State, 'to be confined to universities in connection with which some provision can be made for securing the domestic comfort of the

'scholars, and for watching them and controlling their actions.' Another salutary condition—often disregarded since by uninformed parents—was that the selected candidate 'should be a good English scholar, able to read, write, and speak the English language with fluency and accuracy.'

It is to be regretted that this scheme was never allowed a fair trial, for in those days the Government could have given a wise direction to the movement for Western education by confining it to picked men of proved ability. The then Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote, approved the principle of the scholarship scheme, but observed that many collateral questions of importance remained for consideration. These were dealt with by his successor (the Duke of Argyll) in 1869. The Government of India were informed that a Bill then before Parliament would set them free to appoint Indians to all or any of the offices which had been exclusively confined by statute to covenanted civilians, so that there would be less necessity for sending young Indians to study in England with a view to competing in the Indian Civil Service examination. At the same time the Secretary of State did not doubt that personal acquaintance with English society, and the impressions which must arise from seeing the working of our political system, would be a most valuable element in the education of Indians destined for any higher offices of State, and particularly for judicial appointments. He directed, however, that the scheme should be dealt with only as an experiment until the results attained by the scholars already appointed or about to be appointed were ascertained.

The Government of India asked for explicit instructions, and in accordance with a further despatch from the India Office dated 15th of July 1869 the scheme was 'suspended.' The Government of Lord Mayo, writing on the 25th of January 1870, pointed out that the suspension was likely to occasion misrepresentation unless action was taken forthwith to demonstrate that the views of Government in regard to the more liberal employment of Indians in the public service were unchanged. The reply of the Duke of Argyll, dated 31st of March 1870, was to notify the passing of the Act of that year which authorised the appointment of any Indian to any office, place, or employment for which he might be fitted—subject to such rules as might be prescribed. The secondary object

of the scholarships—that of enabling Indians to study for the independent exercise of one or other of the liberal professions—was lost sight of, and nothing more was heard of the scheme for many years.

Meanwhile Indians were coming here independently of Government support. Mr. Mon Mohan Ghose sat in the same I.C.S. examination as his fellow Bengali, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore ; but failing to share his success he entered as a student at the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar on the 6th of June 1866. He was the first Indian to attain that distinction, but was closely followed by the late Michael Madhu Sudan Dutta, Gray's Inn, November 1866, the late Justice Badruddin Tyabji, Middle Temple, April 1867, and the late W. C. Bonnerjee, the Congress leader, Middle Temple, June 1867. The first Indian to qualify in England for the legal profession, however, was an elder brother of Justice Tyabji, Mr. Camruddin Tyabji, who served articles with a London firm of solicitors, and was admitted to the rolls of the profession in November 1858. Between 1864 and 1868 fourteen Indians unsuccessfully competed for the Civil Service.

The deeply interesting biography of Romesh Chunder Dutt, by his son-in-law Mr. J. N. Gupta, tells how he and his lifelong friend, Mr. Behari Lal Gupta, ran away from home, and with Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, the famous Bengali publicist, set sail for England from Calcutta in March 1869 to compete for the Indian Civil Service. The experiences of these determined youths—‘recklessly staking everything on an almost ‘impossible success,’ as Dutt wrote to his brother from the steamer—are noteworthy. They show on the one side the most diligent application, and on the other the friendly interest and effort of influential people, typical of the early days when the number of Indian students was small, and when their very presence was some guarantee of the enlightenment of parents or the grit and determination of the young men themselves. There were, however, remonstrances in some Anglo-Indian papers as to the ‘lionising’ of young Indians here, and in 1872 the ‘Madras Times’ presciently foretold a reaction under which ‘they will be as much neglected as they have hitherto ‘been made too much of.’ The three friends, working steadily at University College, and helped especially by Professor Henry Morley, all succeeded in the 1869 examination, together

with a fellow-Hindu from Western India, Mr. Sripad Babaji Thakur. Though this remarkable success was not afterwards repeated, the appearance of Indians at the early examination became customary; and about five per cent. of the total admissions to the Service have been Indians.

Of unofficial agencies for promoting the welfare of Indians in this country, the National Indian Association stands first both in seniority and usefulness. But when it was founded in Bristol in 1870 this part of its work was looked upon as subsidiary. The primary object of the association was to promote by voluntary effort the enlightenment and improvement of our Indian fellow-subjects, and to extend throughout this country a knowledge of and interest in India. One of the methods by which it was proposed to carry out these objects, was by showing 'kind attention to young natives of India 'that are in Great Britain for education.' The headquarters of the society were at an early date transferred to London, and the hon. secretary, Miss Mary Carpenter, and, after her death in July 1877, her successor, Miss Adelaide Manning, befriended all young Indians brought within the range of their influence with unwearying sympathy and devotion. The files of the 'Indian Magazine and Review,' which Miss Manning edited until her death in 1905, throw much light on the growth of the Indian student problem. Miss Manning secured the co-operation of Lord Northbrook after his return from the Indian Viceroyalty, and as an offshoot of the association a reading-room called the Northbrook Indian Club was opened in John Street, Adelphi, in 1880. Entering upon a separate existence in 1881, the club received substantial endowment, and enlarging its scope to better fit its name, removed to Whitehall Place, where for a time it was popular with well-to-do Indian residents and visitors. A subsequent migration to the Imperial Institute was unfortunate, and the reading-room was very little used by young Indians until reorganised and transferred to club-like rooms in Piccadilly in 1904. The National Indian Association had no local habitation, and its chief work for students (apart from private hospitality and effort) was the holding of periodical receptions at which the young men had opportunities for meeting Anglo-Indian and other well-wishers. The still flourishing Edinburgh Indian Association was founded in 1882, by which time a good number of Indians

were studying in the Scottish capital for medical degrees. There have always been more Indians reading in the Scottish capital than anywhere else outside London, and the present total is close upon 200. The Indian Students' Club, established some two years ago at rooms in the Strand near King's College and the Law Courts, is on a distinctively Christian basis.

A census of Indian students here (exclusive of Ceylonese) taken by Miss Manning in 1887 gave a total of 160; another in 1890 a total of 207, and a third in 1894 reached the figure of 308. These numbers may be below the mark, but they give an approximate idea of the comparatively slow growth of the system until near the close of the nineteenth century. It must be remembered that the Mahommedans were awakened but slowly from their educational lethargy, while Hindus not emancipated from caste had still to face prolonged, and in some respects physically repugnant, penitentiary rites on returning from a sojourn here. The possibility of providing special accommodation permitting of the observance of caste restrictions had suggested itself to that learned jurist, Sir Henry Sumner Maine, as early as 1868, and he wrote a minute on the subject.

The idea was matured many years afterwards by the late Dr. W. G. Leitner, sometime Registrar of the Punjab University. With the help of substantial donations from Punjab Chiefs and others, Dr. Leitner acquired the Royal Dramatic College, near Woking, and transformed it into an Oriental Institute, where in the words of a prospectus issued by the Anjuman-i-Punjab (*circa* 1885) any student, whether Hindu or Mahommedan, would be enabled to reside 'at a material reduction of the cost of living in England, to cook his own food, and to follow his religious or caste usages without interference.' From one cause or another the effort was a complete failure, and from the death of Dr. Leitner, about three years after the Institute was opened—if indeed during his lifetime—no student was received. It was clear that the solution of the problem did not lie that way, and that Indians braving the *kali pani* to come here were prepared to live in English fashion. The abortive result of the enterprise has tended to dam up the flow of Indian benevolence to this country for objects calculated to benefit the students.

Suggestions for the provision of hostels for young Indians

in London and elsewhere have been made from time to time, notably by the late Mr. H. C. Richards, K.C., M.P. ('East and West,' July 1902). But they have failed to materialise, largely because the young men have preferred dingy boarding-houses, and even solitary lodgings, to the curtailment of individual freedom which hostel life, if properly conducted, would involve. Moreover the system was open to the objection of developing the tendency, which grew as the number of young Indians increased, for them to gather into groups, in a sort of alien community, aloof from English life. The benefits of the hostel system would seem to be dependent upon its being made a prescribed part of the discipline of the institutions receiving these young men—whether university, Inn of Court, or medical school. But the authorities at Oxford vetoed a proposal of this kind some years ago, made in connexion with the Indian Institute established there, by the zealous efforts of Professor Monier-Williams, with the approval of the Government of India.

In 1886 the Secretary of State for India decided to revert to what appeared to have been the principal object of Lord Lawrence's Government when scholarships were first provided—that of promoting higher education—and in view of the perils of London life, he directed that the scholarships should only be tenable at either Oxford or Cambridge. They were of the value of 200*l.* per annum for three years, with 100*l.* outfit and passage money. The holders were placed under the general care of the Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State. The Government of India suggested the desirability of allowing the last of the three years to be spent either at an Inn of Court or at a hospital or some other specialised institution. As time went on the scheme was modified in this and other respects, the limitation of tenure to Oxford and Cambridge being removed.

A later development, begun in 1904, has been the provision of State Technical Scholarships, the holders of which are sent abroad to undertake definite courses of instruction in subjects connected with industrial science or research. More than forty of these scholars have returned to India, and at the present time about thirty are undergoing instruction in this country, on the Continent, or in America. They form, however, but a small percentage of the many young Indians sojourning in the West to acquire technical training. An Association

for the advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, established in Calcutta in 1904, has sent scores of youths to Great Britain, as well as to the Continent, America and Japan, for the study of arts and industries ; and many more have come independently of such aid.

The results of the Government Scholarships are not regarded as altogether satisfactory by a committee of two, presided over by the Principal of the Thomason Engineering College, Rorkee, which has been recently sitting in India on the question of bringing technical institutions into closer touch and more practical relations with the employers of labour in India. The report, published in October, states that educational distinctions achieved in Western lands are, from the commercial point of view, useless to any employer unless practical experience has been obtained in addition. It recommends that the students should first learn all they can in India, both practically and theoretically, of the professions they have chosen. They should then be apprenticed for three years with some firm of repute in Europe. The committee are convinced that this scheme would produce a more useful class of men than the present system of mainly academic instruction in the West. It should be noted, however, that there has been considerable difficulty in securing for the scholars practical training in works and factories here to supplement the theoretical training. To devise measures for meeting this difficulty, and to investigate the system from this side, a committee presided over by Sir Theodore Morison was constituted by the Secretary of State at the beginning of June and took evidence in the various educational centres. It is understood that substantial progress was made in securing promises of co-operation from large employers of labour. In not a few cases the returned State scholars are filling important industrial positions ; and the Morison report, if published, would serve as a corrective to the somewhat extreme view taken by the committee in India.

The call for technological and industrial training is a growth of the present century : the main drift has been for many years, and still is, to the Inns of Court. In no respect is the compulsion on ambitious Indians to come here for education more paradoxical than in that of the legal profession. The training in India for the *vakil*, who must be a graduate in law, is far more thorough than that requisite for a call

to the Bar in London. Yet the youngest barrister takes precedence of the most experienced *vakil*. The latter may appear only in the High or Chief Court where he is enrolled (often only on the Original Side of the High Court) and the Courts subordinate thereto. The barrister may plead in any part of India, and there are valuable appointments open to him and closed, either by regulation or by custom, to the *vakil*. The plethora of barristers in India has deplorable consequences not only in the difficulty many of them have in earning a decent livelihood, but also in the incentive given to the litigiousness of the people. The numbers of Indian students at the Inns are so great, and include so many youths not adequately equipped by culture and breeding for the profession of the law, that the Council of Legal Education revised their rules some two years ago for the purpose of raising the standard of character and education for admission. Up to that time a sufficient test of the general culture of applicants was the passing of a public examination at any University within the British Dominions, or of a simple preliminary examination conducted by a joint Board of the Inns. This examination was abolished at the close of 1910, and a new schedule of qualifying tests provided that in the case of universities in the Oversea Dominions the examination must entitle to a degree.

The notification of these changes brought an unprecedented rush of Indian applicants anxious for enrolment before the new rules were enforced. Nor has the schedule since proved effective, for Indian youths have been able to avoid waiting to pass for a degree in India by sitting at preliminary and matriculation examinations in this country, or for the Oxford and Cambridge Senior Local Examinations. Recently the schedule has been amended in a manner which to a considerable extent blocks the preliminary examination of the Scottish Universities and the Oxford and Cambridge 'Locals' as avenues of Indian admission. The Inns will not accept the Scottish examination if an Indian student has taken advantage of the concessions, such as a lower standard of knowledge of English, which the university authorities grant to Orientals. The regulations require an applicant coming from India to bring a certificate from the Collector of his district, or from the Political Officer of his Native State, to the effect that the signatory has known the youth personally for at least a year, and

has had opportunities of judging of his suitability. Anyone familiar with the conditions of Indian service must recognise the unworkable character of this provision; and it has frequently had to be disregarded in practice under the general powers of exemption retained by the Benchers. The High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay have now devised measures for raising the standard of the profession, by making it obligatory for applicants for enrolment either to obtain a law degree or to work in the chambers of a practising barrister in England for at least a year. This reform, if adopted by the other High Courts and Chief Courts, will be most salutary. But the rush of Indians, unsuitable as well as suitable, to the Inns of Court will continue so long as the present arbitrary precedence for the barrister is maintained, or alternatively until legal training in India, as in so many other British possessions, including the adjacent Crown colony of Ceylon, qualifies for the Bar.

The disciplinary power of the Benchers of the several Inns cannot be exercised with full effect under a non-residential system, and the large amount of leisure the Bar students enjoy while keeping their terms has made them especially susceptible to the temptations of London life. It is well within the public recollection that when, a few years ago, there arose a new form of Indian political propaganda, preaching the overthrow by violent methods of the British Ráj, its leading apostle was one Shyamji Krishnavarma, who had been at Balliol College from 1879 to 1883, and was a barrister of the Inner Temple. He started a monthly revolutionary sheet, and established 'India House' at Highgate as a home for Indians, many of whom resorted there without fully understanding that its main object was to be a forcing-house for sedition. Krishnavarma's open avowal of sympathy with political assassination led to his disbarment by the Benchers of the Inner Temple in May 1909, and to the postponement, pending inquiry, of the calls of two of his associates.

The extremists were not deterred by these belated measures, and a few weeks later, on the night of the 1st of July 1909, at a reception of the National Indian Association, Colonel Sir Curzon Wyllie, the Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State, was shot dead by a Punjabi student, Madho Lal Dhingra; while Dr. Lalcaca, a Parsi who intervened to save

Sir Curzon, was also assassinated. The papers found upon Dhingra and his own statements left no doubt as to the political motive of the crime. Sir Curzon Wyllie was the last of men to incur the animosity of students on personal grounds, for, brought into contact with them to some degree by official duty, he became their generous friend and helper. Even among the students who had been indoctrinated with anarchism, the crime evoked revulsion of feeling. It marked indeed the flood-tide of the Indian revolutionary movement and gave to the Government of India's resolve to unflinchingly repress incitements to murderous outrage the momentum of an intensified public opinion. It brought home to the English people the fact that a grave potential danger had secretly developed here and that anarchical crime in India had its mainsprings in Europe.

Two or three years before the public was startled by this foul crime, Lord (then Mr.) Morley had recognised the need for thorough investigation of the problems arising from the continual growth in the number of Indians coming here for education. He appointed a committee of inquiry, consisting of Sir William Lee-Warner (Chairman), Mr. (now Sir Theodore) Morison, late Principal of Aligarh College, and Sir Curzon Wyllie himself. When they recorded evidence in 1907 the number of Indian students had risen to about 700. At the beginning of September 1908 an outline of the conclusions of the Committee was given in 'The Times' in an article which remarked that the way of reform

'is not to put these young men into political leading strings, nor officially to restrict their liberty. It lies in doing all that is possible to facilitate their educational progress and their general welfare, and in bringing them under wholesome and helpful influences. These requirements have been clearly kept in view by Sir W. Lee-Warner's committee, and it is understood that the main recommendation . . . is intended to facilitate the primary object with which young Indians come to this country. They frequently are subjected to bitter disappointment by arriving here inadequately equipped and ill-informed as to the requirements and conditions of their particular line of study. Not infrequently months are wasted because arrival has been at the wrong period of the year for the particular course contemplated; and it is in this dreary waiting time that injurious associations and bad habits are most likely to be formed.'

The recommendation referred to was for the appointment of an Educational Adviser of Indian Students to have charge

of a Bureau of Information, and it was proposed that the societies working for the good of young Indians should be housed with the Bureau in a building rented by the Secretary of State. The report further suggested the creation of a standing advisory committee mainly composed of permanent Indian residents, and that corresponding provincial and district committees should be formed in India to help and advise intending students. Mr. T. W. Arnold, who had had wide experience as a college professor in India, was appointed Adviser in April 1909, and shortly afterwards Lord Ampthill accepted the chairmanship of the Advisory Committee. Mr. Arnold's Bureau was started at the India Office pending the obtainment of suitable premises—a consummation much retarded by the tragedy at the Imperial Institute. Again and again negotiations for premises failed to mature ; but ultimately very suitable accommodation was found at 21 Cromwell Road, close to the University of London and the many scientific institutions which centre in that part of South Kensington. Mr. Arnold took up his quarters there in August 1910 together with the National Indian Association and the Northbrook Society.

The scheme has thus been in working order for little more than two years, but its value has been abundantly demonstrated. Fears were expressed in the first instance that the Bureau would be a failure, since students would fight shy of contact with an official institution. That prejudices exist cannot be denied, but they have not kept away any large proportion of the men. Mr. Arnold's gifts of sympathy and tact, his Oriental scholarship, and his knowledge of the workings of the Indian mind, have disarmed critics only too ready to find fault with official action of any kind. He took care from the first that there should be no element of political surveillance about his Bureau ; he is there to help and advise students, not to spy on them. That the Bureau meets a distinct need is evidenced by the fact that in the course of the first two years of work the Adviser came into touch with some 1100 students. This is a remarkable total, for hundreds of the students, even among those using the club facilities at 21 Cromwell Road, do not seek the help of the Bureau, having carefully informed themselves in advance of the requirements of institutions they seek to enter, or preferring to consult other agencies. The

Parsis, for example, of whom there are about seventy students in this country, go to communal organisations. It may be explained that the Burmans (about 100 in number) have their separate establishment and club, also subsidised by the Secretary of State, and that they are not included in the estimate of 1700 or 1800 Indians.

The work of Mr. F. M. Cheshire, a recent graduate of St. John's, Cambridge, as personal assistant to Mr. Arnold, has shown the great value of associating a young Englishman fresh from university life with the Bureau, and thus contributing to those relationships of sympathetic understanding which it is so important to build up. For some months Dr. P. K. Ray, a distinguished Bengali of mature years, was the Indian assistant, but the post is now filled by a young Moslem, Mr. Abdur Rahman, lately a student at Edinburgh. For the benefit of engineering students the occasional services of Mr. J. M. Champion, M.Inst.C.E., formerly Chief Engineer to the Punjab Government, have been secured at a nominal fee. Small honoraria have been paid to the correspondents at Oxford and Cambridge. In his Indian Budget speech in the House of Commons on the 30th of July last, Mr. Montagu summarised Mr. Arnold's activities as follows :

' A Bureau of Information has been formed which (1) provides information upon educational matters to Indian parents and students ; (2) keeps for students a record of suitable lodging-houses and of families that are ready to receive them ; (3) furnishes them with references and certificates required by the institutions which they wish to enter ; (4) serves as an intermediary between the universities and other academic bodies in cases where their regulations impose hardship on students in India or do not harmonise with the system enforced in Indian Universities and colleges ; (5) issues a handbook of information relating to academic and technical education, the conditions of life and cost of living in different centres of the United Kingdom to which Indian parents may wish to send sons ; (6) and, finally, assists Indian students in this country with advice on matters social, financial, and educational, and undertakes at the express wish of Indian parents the guardianship of their sons, sending to them from time to time periodical reports as to their progress and conduct.'

The more important features of the work done under these several heads may be briefly indicated. In the matter of suitable housing some progress has been made, but the main

difficulty is that students and their parents are prone to economise unduly in this respect. They often seek for board and lodging at rates which are incompatible with the right kind of accommodation and surroundings. While waiting to find suitable quarters newcomers can obtain temporary accommodation at 21 Cromwell Road. It has been a great gain to the social and domestic life of the house that Miss Beck, the devoted Secretary of the National Indian Association, by her kindness in residing there has given it the atmosphere of an English home—an atmosphere particularly helpful to newcomers looking forward to work in one of the residential universities. Altogether it is scarcely possible to speak too strongly of the value of the change under which the new arrival, instead of being stranded and in doubt as to where he should live, as so often happened, is welcomed at once at 21 Cromwell Road; there forms his first friendships with English people; and, if remaining in London, is recommended to suitable lodgings, boarding houses or private homes. The youth to whom a helping hand is thus held out is usually appreciative of the social amenities of the Indian centre after ceasing to reside there. He joins one or other of the unofficial organisations, and turns to the house not only for the companionship of his own countrymen, but for the friendly help and counsel of Mr. Cranmer Byng, the able Secretary of the Northbrook Society; of Miss Beck; of retired officials from India and other helpers. Debates, visits to places of interest, and outdoor games are organised, and both a law library and the general Northbrook Club library are available. Numerous well-attended social gatherings are held, providing opportunities for introductions, often leading to the exercise of private hospitality in English homes, which is greatly appreciated by the recipients. The one thing lacking is a recognised name for the House.

The work done in respect to references and certificates is much heavier than might be supposed, for students and their guardians are often ill-informed or singularly unbusiness-like in respect to these preliminaries. The Bureau corresponds with the authorities of the institutions the student proposes to enter, and supplies them with the necessary information as to the student's credentials.

In cases of manifest unsuitability, Mr. Arnold has dis-

couraged Indians from attempting a course of study at Oxford or Cambridge which could only end in disappointment to themselves and their parents. But in all other instances he has succeeded in removing barriers, and there are now more Indians at the ancient universities, as a result of his efforts, than at any previous time. The total at Cambridge a year ago had risen to 115 and is now 125; and the corresponding figures at Oxford are 62 and 84. But for the Bureau, the numbers in either university would have been reduced almost to a vanishing point. It should be added that the 'Handbook of Information,' adapted and enlarged from one formerly issued by the National Indian Association, is in great demand.

The work under the last of the headings enumerated by Mr. Montagu is very heavy and in some respects thankless. It involves much correspondence and frequent interviews. The Adviser is consulted on a wide range of questions, great and small, such as the choice of a profession or career (many students arriving here with very vague ideas of what they propose to do); the choice of suitable educational establishments; the question of future employment, whether under Government or in other capacities; monetary or other entanglements of a more or less serious kind; and arrangements for young men who fall ill. Cases of grave pecuniary embarrassment are dealt with by a non-official body, the Distressed Indian Students Aid Committee, of which Sir James Wilson is chairman.

The value of Mr. Arnold's personal work is very great; but youth, freed from effective parental control and often intoxicated with the strong wine of Western individualism and liberty, is prone to go its own way. The vast majority of Indians here go through their sojourn without the slightest attention to religious observance, at least of any public or organised kind. The project for a mosque for Moslem students and other Mahommedans in London is deserving of warm support. The Sikhs already have a place of worship, and it is desirable that religious provision should also be made for the Hindus. High ideals too often languish amid the materialising influences and social evils of our civilisation. There have been cases of young Indians not dissimilar from the well-authenticated tragedy of a Chinese student in Shanghai who became a Christian, to his father's deep regret. 'When no

' means of making him recant had succeeded, he was sent to an English university for the deliberate purpose of destroying his faith. Sad to say, the plan succeeded, for within two years he shot himself, a victim to the awful moral conditions of so-called Christian cities.'* Mr. Arnold could, no doubt, tell many a story of disappointment and the disregard of good advice in some at least of the cases in which the student was free to accept or reject it.

Only in respect to youths under guardianship is there any real power of control, and parents who fail to avail themselves of this important provision take needless risks of disaster. Many of them recognise this, and the number of students thus looked after has steadily risen from the first. It stood at 137 in February last, and is now 173 exclusive of about 80 Government of India, Native State and Tata scholars, all of whom are under guardianship as a condition of tenure. The youths are met on arrival; suitable residences are found for them; remittances received from parents are banked in the joint names of the Adviser and the student, being disbursed in accordance with the instructions of the parents and the particular needs of the young men. The guidance of the latter in money matters necessitates the consideration of innumerable details, and no one without experience in such work could imagine the combination of labour, insight, tact and firmness required for its successful discharge. After all, the powers of guardianship, save in the case of Government, Native State and Tata scholars, are limited to a measure of financial control, and occasions for misunderstanding and dissatisfaction naturally arise at times. Some of the youths would probably prefer complete freedom from a control the great value of which they will doubtless recognise in after years. But it is worthy of note that some put themselves voluntarily under guardianship, and that objections to the system raised at a recent Caxton Hall meeting of Indians were based on preconceived theories of 'liberty,' and not on the practical experience of the speakers, or any substantial evidence.

So far from there being no need for the Bureau, as was suggested at the meeting referred to, the work is too heavy for

* Rev. H. Anderson, 'Challenge of the Hour in the Life of the Orient,' pamphlet Lond. 1912.

a single organisation, for the number of Indians has more than doubled since Lord Morley decided to create the Bureau. To meet the need for expansion of effort and for decentralising the personal work, the Council of India decided last summer to create a new office of Secretary for Indian Students, and it was announced early in July that the Secretary of State had appointed Mr. C. E. Mallet thereto. Already Mr. Mallet's influence with, and knowledge of, leading educationists has yielded good results. Each university enrolling Indians has been consulted as to appointing an officer who will make it his duty to know and help the Indian students there; to give them information and assistance, and to act as guardians if parents wish. Mr. Arnold is thus being set free to devote himself to the welfare of the many hundreds of young Indians in London. Advisers have been appointed already at Oxford, Cambridge and Manchester. Mr. Mallet will be in close relation to all the local advisers, will help them in every way to organise their work and to induce others to co-operate with them, and will assist them in communicating with India.

In addition to the official staff, an unofficial advisory committee, consisting mainly of influential Indian residents, is attached to the Bureau, available for consultation either by students or their parents, or by the Educational Adviser, or by the Secretary of State, and may bring to the notice of the last-named any relevant matter in regard to which it might desire to suggest action on his part. The committee has done useful work as an unofficial link in the chain of arrangements for the welfare of the students; its existence has encouraged the local committees in India and inspired the public there with confidence in the intentions of the Secretary of State. The chairman, Lord Ampthill, holds a unique place in the affections of India as the one British statesman who has laboured unceasingly to ameliorate the lot of Indians in South Africa.

A few general conclusions from this survey must be briefly indicated. The first is that great injury was done to the broad interests of Indian culture by long years of neglect of the problems with which the India Office has now grappled. It has been shown that there was a time when the Government could have regulated the flow of Indian students to Europe, con-

fining it to promising and suitable men. The root principle of regulation was well stated by Sir M. Monier-Williams at a meeting of the National Indian Association in 1885, when he said that the rules for coming here should be that the student had sufficient money, was physically fit for the climate, was morally and intellectually fit, and would be subject to discipline and guidance. The growing volume of entry for the English Bar should have been noted, and there should have been modifications of Government and High Court rules to prevent the anomalies and disadvantages the system has produced.

Generally the standard of education in India should be raised so that an Indian lad may there find facilities capable of yielding opportunities not inferior, save perhaps in a few specialised directions, to those open to his contemporaries who study abroad. Happily the need for improving Indian education, particularly on the side of moral training, by strengthening the personal influence of the teaching staff, is being steadily kept in view by Sir Harcourt Butler, the Education Member, whose policy of increasing the number of Indian universities and making them more residential is to be heartily commended. Only the picked man should be sent to Western lands, for, as the results of the Tata Scholarships Trust show, it is they alone who will truly profit. Too often the ordinary Indian is denationalised by residence in England.

At the same time it is the clear duty of Englishmen to treat with all consideration and helpfulness these sojourners in a strange land. There should be no ground for suspicion that their coming is disliked and covertly discouraged because it may give wider opportunities of competition with Englishmen. The guiding motive of any regulating action must be the good of India. Above all things, Indians who wish to complete their education abroad should be encouraged to select the United Kingdom, rather than the Continent, or Japan or America, so that they may have every opportunity to imbibe the spirit which underlies British rule: the spirit which has brought India to a new birth, a larger, ever-expanding life.

F. H. BROWN.

DE GUSTIBUS

1. *The English Housewife in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.* By ROSE M. BRADLEY. Arnold. 1912.
2. *Dinners and Dinners.* By COLONEL NEWNHAM-DAVIS. Grant Richards. 1899.
3. *La Physiologie du Goût.* By BRILLAT-SAVARIN. Paris. 1825.
4. *The Art of Dining.* By ABRAHAM HAYWARD. Murray. 1852.
5. *Foods and Feeding.* By SIR HENRY THOMPSON, BT. Warne.
6. *The Closet of Cookery.* By Sir EVERARD DIGBY. 17th cent.

LITERATURE owes much to cookery; from Aristophanes to Meredith some of the most delightful pages in all languages are those deriving their inspiration from banquets imagined or remembered, and even from feasts, as in the cases of Tantalus and Sancho Panza, evident but not enjoyed.

'Show me,' says Talleyrand, apropos of eating, 'another pleasure which comes twice a day and lasts an hour each time'; while according to Milton cookery was the first of the fine arts to exist in Eden. When the Archangel Raphael unexpectedly appears in the Garden of Eden, Eve, 'on hospitable thoughts intent,' hurries off to prepare a meal.

'From each tender stalk

.
 She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
 Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the grape
 She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths
 From many a berry, and from sweet kernels press'd
 She tempers dulcet creams.'

Eve also possessed the higher instinct which views each course as part of the whole, and knows

'What choice to choose for delicacy best,
 What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
 Tastes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring
 Taste after taste, upheld with kindest change.'

Small wonder Adam, yet unfallen, addresses this rare creature in a rapture of admiration as

'Daughter of God and Man, accomplished Eve!'

What was his clumsy instinct of agriculture beside the anticipation of civilised refinement inherent in his help-mate? Had Adam been left alone in Eden he would have munched raw roots and gourds to the end of time, heedless of their nobler possibilities.

Other authorities, it is true, have implied a doubt as to Eve's share in the art of cookery. Dr. Johnson, who always thought he could do everything better than anyone else, held that women can spin very well, but they cannot make a good book on cookery; while William Morris was yet more emphatic: 'There are two things,' he maintained, 'about which women know absolutely nothing: dress and cookery; their twist isn't that way. They never invented a new dish or failed to spoil an old one.'

Whether the first cook were created male or female, certain it is Eden would not have been Paradise to the majority of humankind had not the culinary art been native to its air. We may waive the crude surmises of anthropologists, their uninteresting speculations as to the genealogy of hearth-fires or the sacrificial origin of roast meats. Charles Lamb is the only ethnologist whose researches in this field are germane to the matter, and to the epicure and to the cook the legend of Bobo and the burnt pig must ever remain one of the most splendid and venerable traditions of their science.

The modern 'emotional epicure'—to misuse a phrase of Mr. Mallock's—may be content to pass lightly over classical and medieval gastronomic records as unsuited to his digestion, and leave the mighty sesquipedalian ragoût of the Athenians, with its confusion of ingredients, to stew in its own juice, together with the suppers of Juvenal and Petronius, and the hecatombs of soused porpoises and barbecued hogs under which the boards of the middle ages continually did groan.

Indeed, even up to Elizabeth's time and later, the cook's methods are apt, to modern notions, to savour of the apothecary's and perfumer's shops, when they do not recall the unpleasant profusion of Snyders' 'sideboard pieces' reeking with trophies of the chase. Going further back, we have reason to doubt the achievements of Chaucer's cook, despite the poet's assurance that he could boil chickens and marrow-bones, could roast and seethe and broil and fry, make mortreux—a white soup or *purée*—and bake a pie well. Our

mistrust is grounded, not only on mine host's jape as regards his selling fish twice réchauffé and disguising a fly-blown fowl with parsley sauce, but on the statement that he could powder 'marchant tart' and 'galingale.' What 'marchant' was no dictionary or glossary will illumine (we infer 'tart' to be the qualifying adjective), but 'galingale' is a root of sorts, first cousin to ginger, and another evidence of the passion for spices which was an ill feature of the *haute cuisine* of our ancestors. The venison pasty of Friar Tuck, as served to us by Sir Walter, is more tempting than we should have found the original; while even so late a book as Sir Everard Digby's 'Closet of Cookery' makes us marvel how any neat-handed Phyllis could have perpetrated such ghastly messes, let alone how her master and his friends could have consumed them. Dr. Johnson criticised justly the English cookery of his time when he observed: 'Pharmacy is now made much more simple, 'cookery may be made so too.' A prescription which is now compounded of five ingredients had formerly fifty in it. So, in cookery, if the nature of the ingredients be well known, 'much fewer will do.'

The Civil Wars retarded the progress of gastronomy in England, while France was developing the art under the instruction of Italy, then far in advance of other nations in this matter. Catherine dei Medici's cook, Berini, played a considerable part in educating the *gourmets* of Paris, and a century later we find Montaigne expatiating on the subtle art of his Italian cook, formerly in the service of Cardinal Caraffa, who thus discoursed on salads: 'their difference according to 'their distinct seasons; which must be served warm and which 'cold; the manner how to dress, how to adorn and to embellish them, to make them more pleasing to the sight,' while the most exacting modern critic of *la science des bons morceaux* could scarce find fault with the *repas fort savant* so exquisitely described by Dorante in 'Le Bourgeois Gentil-homme.' But in England, until the time of the later Stuarts at earliest, it is impossible for readers of to-day to feel much sympathy—the 'sweet possessive pang' of greediness—with any author's gastronomic ardours, although Walton's recipes for the cooking of his day's sport are enticing, and Mr. Pepys' gastronomic comments show an acumen worthy of the author, notably his criticism of the venison pasty which was 'palpable

'beef and most unhandsome.' Miss Bradley in her interesting book 'The English Housewife in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries' quotes dinners almost unbelievable in their profusion; and though Pepys' descriptions of his own dinners prove some modification was possible without disgracing hospitality, they bear witness to the essential correctness of the bills of fare she cites from the 'dinners of ceremony' 'which a whole Ark command of Nature's plenty' to the 'more humble feast' commended by Gervase Markham as of 'an ordinary proportion which any good man may keep in his family for 'the entertainment of his true and worthy friends,' and of which the first course alone consisted of thirty-two dishes! The introduction of tea, coffee and chocolate was probably responsible for a far-reaching change of taste in the value and appreciation of flavours, and it is from this time that the rise of modern cookery may be dated. Eighteenth century books are full of good cheer, but it is of the kind which needs good digestion and good appetite to savour it aright. We feel a hard run with the hounds or a fifty miles' jolting over rough roads in a stage coach is needful to its enjoyment, and even then we should certainly weary of the sameness of the food, and should hanker after the variety and contrast which have been brought to our doors by swiftness of transport and the miracles of cold storage. 'Caviare to the general!' Let anyone with a lively imagination and a fastidious palate try to realise what the caviare known to Shakespeare must have been like, if it was indeed imported from Russia and not, as seems possible, taken from sturgeon caught in home waters. The varied abundance of fish and fowl we enjoy to-day; the strange fruits—melons, bananas, pineapples—now heaped on even humble boards with a hand as unsparing as Eve's own; the wealth of vegetables cultivated to a size, flavour and tenderness undreamt-of in days of yore; the condiments to which we have grown so used that we forget their scarcity and costliness in other ages—these were luxuries mostly unknown to Mrs. Delany, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Thrale, and other lavish hostesses of their day. There was also but little appreciation of the aesthetics which now link the science of good living to other arts by silent sympathy. Did any eighteenth century epicure, confronted by hashed mutton, contrive to endure it by remembering the little dish of that

delicacy prepared by Fielding's Amelia for her errant husband ; or find a more suave enjoyment in gooseberry-fool for the recollection of Goldsmith's comparison of himself to that dainty ? Dr. Johnson's meditations on a pudding are well meant, but they carry no conviction of the pudding's excellence ; they leave us cold, when compared with the ambrosial vision in one of Dickens' letters of a pudding created in his honour to grace a dinner in Paris. Our enthusiasm to-day over 'a conscientious dinner, conscientiously eaten,' is far more complex than was that of our ancestors ; memories and associations blend their aroma in enchanting harmony with the sensible odours and flavours of the repast.

Yet the Muse of Letters, be she divine Calliope herself, must beware of mistaking her place in relation to gastronomy ; 'a higher hand must make her mild, she is the second, not the 'first' ; it is hers to irradiate, not to define. Wit and research may brighten the pages of a cookery book, as Brillat-Savarin and Grimod de La Reynière have abundantly proved, but cook and critic alike must look coldly on the foppery which is fain to disguise the defects of a recipe by tricking it out in rhyme. Such versified formulæ are but toys at best, often irritating and always futile. Let any one attempt Gay's recipe for stewing a knuckle of veal, and judge if it would 'fill with rapture' any Dean and Chapter worthy of the name. How many, among the thousands of readers who have quoted Sydney Smith's recipe for a winter salad, have paused to reflect that all mention of the salad itself is omitted therefrom, and that the directions, faithfully followed, must result in a sticky paste of mashed potatoes and yolk of egg, blended with oil and vinegar and savoury with onion and anchovy ? Such a mess would be a doubtful filling for a sandwich and absolutely futile as a salad dressing. On the other hand, any chef with a soul ought to be inspired to the creation of a game pie by the passage in 'Audley Court' (even though it lacks detail as regards seasoning) which describes

'Half-cut-down, a pasty costly-made,
Where quail and pigeon, lark and leveret lay,
Like fossils of the rock, with golden yolks
Embedded and enjellied.'

So also should he be thrilled to finer issues by the idyll of the great Alcide de Mirobolant, who through the medium of

his art declared his passion for Miss Amory. Here is his own description of the dinner he served to his idol and her two 'comrades of the pension':

'Her lovely name is Blanche. The veil of the maiden is white, the wreath of roses which she wears is white. I determined that my dinner should be as spotless as the snow . . .

I sent her up a little *potage à la Reine*—à la Reine Blanche I called it—as white as her own tint and confectioned with the most fragrant cream and almonds. I then offered up at her shrine a *filet de merlan à Sainte-Agnes* and a delicate *plat* which I designated as *Éperlan à la Sainte-Thérèse*, and of which my charming Miss partook with pleasure. I followed this by two little entrées of sweetbread and chicken, and the only brown thing which I permitted myself in the entertainment was a little roast of lamb, which I laid in a meadow of spinaches with *croustillons* representing sheep and ornamented with daisies and other savage flowers. After this came my second service: a pudding à la Reine *Élizabeth* (who, Madame Fribsbi knows, was a maiden princess); a dish of opal-coloured plovers' eggs, which I called *Nid de tourtereaux à la Roucoule*, placing in the midst of them two of those tender volatiles, billing each other and confectioned with butter; a basket containing little *gâteaux*, of apricots, which I know all young ladies adore; and a jelly of marasquin, bland, insinuating, intoxicating as the glance of beauty. This I designated *Ambroisie-de-Calypso à la Souveraine de mon Cœur*. And when the ice was brought in—an ice of *plombière* and cherries—how do you think I had shaped them, Madame Fribsbi? In the form of two hearts, united with an arrow, on which I had laid, before it entered, a bridal veil of cut paper surmounted by a wreath of virginal orange flowers. I stood at the door to watch the effect of this entry. It was but one cry of admiration. The three young ladies filled their glasses with the sparkling Ay and carried me in a toast.'

But while the mere lover of literature may enjoy the rhapsodies of Alcide de Mirobolant, to the average chef they will appear irrelevant. A chef's interest in his profession must needs be immediate and practical; the realisation of his inspirations is needed to prove their worth, and he is apt to hold of slight account the epicurean dissertations of polite letters. To him, the great Dumas lives rather as the author of a famous cookery book than as the creator of d'Artagnan; his son, rather as the inventor of the *Salade Japonaise* than as the writer of 'La Dame aux Camélias.' In gastronomy, as in other arts, the man of thought and the man of action have their separate spheres, distinct again from that of the critic. Still

we maintain that a school of culinary 'Greats' should include, besides acquaintance with the more severely practical works, some knowledge of the philosophy of dining as sketched by Brillat-Savarin and Hayward and other professors of that art; and in addition complete familiarity with the ideals expressed by such authors as Dumas, Thackeray, and Peacock, for it is from them that can best be learnt the standards by which the epicure's enthusiasm may be regulated and the cook's experiments criticised. The works of Scott and Thackeray are evidence that it was force of circumstance, not lack of ardour or appreciation of the art, which withheld them from enriching our shelf of cookery-books. The loss is ours. We would gladly exchange the *magnum opus* intended, but happily unaccomplished, by Dr. Johnson for the slimmest volume by the authors of 'St. Ronan's Well' and 'Vanity Fair.' Most of Scott's novels hold some hint of his discriminating interest in the art of cooking, but 'Quentin Durward' contains two notable examples. In the Introduction to the story there is a description of a *maigre* dinner given by the Marquis de Hautlieu, with, for its crowning-grace, the *chef-d'œuvre* of the old French valet-cook representing a scene from 'Miladi Lac.'

'An immense *assiette* of spinach, not smoothed into a uniform surface as by our uninaugurated cooks upon your side of the water, but swelling into hills and declining into vales, over which swept a gallant stag, pursued by a pack of hounds in full cry and a noble field of horsemen with bugle-horns and whips held upright and brandished after the manner of broadswords—hounds, huntsmen, and stag being all very artificially cut out of toasted bread.'

Even more appetising is the breakfast—Scott is always great at breakfasts—wherewith Maître Pierre entertains the half-starved Durward at Plessis-les-Tours.

'There was a *pâté de Périgord* over which a gastronome would have wished to live and die, like Homer's lotus-eaters, forgetful of kin, native country, and all social obligations whatsoever. Its vast walls of magnificent crust seemed raised like the bulwarks of some rich metropolitan city, an emblem of the wealth which they are designed to protect. There was a delicate ragoût, with just that *petit point de l'ail* which Gascons love, and Scotchmen do not hate. There was besides a delicate ham which had once supported a noble wild boar in the neighbouring woods of Mountrichart. There was the most delicate white bread, made into little round loaves called

boules (whence the bakers took their French name of *boulangers*), of which the crust was so inviting that, even with water alone, it would have been a delicacy. But the water was not alone, for there was a flask of leather called *bottrine*, which contained a quart of exquisite *vin de Beaulne*. So many good things might have created an appetite under the ribs of Death.'

Was there ever a nobler description of a feast without exaggeration and without affectation? The large Homeric utterance is natural to Scott, and his inherent humour lends to the picture the zest of the *point de l'ail* and the sparkle of the *vin de Beaulne*. De Banville has appropriated the scene in his 'Gringoire,' but his version lacks the glow and morning freshness of the great romancer's original.

We have a friend who, though he loves not sugared cates, whenever he meets preserved cherries solemnly eats one to the memory of William Makepeace Thackeray, recalling the note to Mr. Brown's letters where, after protesting against elaborate desserts, the author owns he cannot resist that particular 'goody.' No critic of gastronomy is more accomplished, no *gourmet* more certain in his intuition, or more catholic in his enjoyment, than the author of 'Vanity Fair.' Like his own Clive Newcome, 'though it was his maxim that all dinners were 'good, and he could eat bread and cheese and drink small beer 'with perfect satisfaction, I believe that he found a certain 'pleasure in a bottle of claret which most men's systems were 'incapable of feeling.' The 'Memorials of Gormandising,' first published in 'Fraser's Magazine,' remain a faithful chronicle of the great Paris restaurants of his time, already, according to D'Orsay, approaching their decadence. They contain the story of the truffled partridge at the Café Foy: how Thackeray and his friend G., after holding their powers exhausted by the 'rich, sweet, piquant, juicy entrecôte,' were revived by the odour of the truffles coming toward them: 'something musky, fiery, savoury, mysterious—a hot, drowsy 'smell, that lulls the senses and yet inflames them.' Hayward tells a similar anecdote. He was dining with Thackeray at 'Le Rocher,' and a *matelote* of supreme excellence was served up. 'My dear fellow,' exclaimed the distinguished moralist, 'don't let us speak a word until we have finished this dish.'

Thackeray's large humanity included the true epicurean spirit, that genial and general appreciation of everything that

is good of its kind. He would have sympathised with Tom Tulliver's sublime exclamation, 'Apricot roll-up! Oh! my buttons!'; and more than one roly-poly enriches his own pages, notably that which was 'too good,' made by Mrs. Raymond Grey. In the same paper which records the banquet at the Café Foy appears his version of 'Odi puer':

'Dear Lucy, you know what my wish is,
I hate all this Frenchified fuss,
Your silly entrées and made dishes
Were never intended for us.'

Yet while praising the plain leg of mutton he could also gloriously epitomise bouillabaisse.

'This Bouillabaisse a noble dish is—
A sort of soup or broth or brew,
Or hotch-potch of all sorts of fishes,
That Greenwich never could outdo;
Green herbs, red peppers, mussels, saffron,
Soles, onions, garlic, roach and dace,
All these you eat at Terré's tavern
In that one dish of Bouillabaisse.'

It is not the Roubion, the Marseillais, formula; but what of that? The exigencies of rhyme must be admitted and, as we have already implied, the better the verse, the worse the recipe.

Peacock's epicurism is of a different order. He is not so much a citizen of the world as Thackeray, though they have much in common. It was not his lot in youth to dine with Goethe or to savour the Olympian feasts of 'Le Rocher' and Véry's in their palmy days. We have always held Peacock as the literary descendant of John Buncle, that widower of many wives and hero of a thousand Gargantuan feasts; but the author of 'Crotchet Castle' is of finer metal than his forebear, whether as writer or *bon vivant*. He sheds the irradiating brilliance of his wit over the hospitably spread table of the English country-house. How simple, yet accomplished in its neatness, is the cookery, how exquisite in its freshness is the fare!

His books remind us again of Dutch still-life pictures, but with a difference: with him Van der Helst rather than Snyder is the original. We have the silver gleam of salmon and trout; the heather-tints of soft-plumaged moor-fowl and purple-

breasted pigeon, and the crimson nap of the peach nestles with the swollen globes of grapes, golden and nectarous, against the wine flask, from within which gleams the stored sunlight of past summers. 'And what if it be but a lobster and a lemon, 'if the first be fresh boiled and the second fresh cut?'

Dickens has the same zest as Peacock and Thackeray, if not the same fineness of instinct; he wants the philosophic gravity of the first, the critical shrewdness of the latter. The pudding, mentioned earlier, is described in one of his letters. In his novels he rather raises to the skies the grosser realities of Christmas dinners and of suppers barbaric in their confusion, than lures the genius of *la haute cuisine* down to earth. We feast, if well, yet not wisely, and our heads are apt to ache next morning. It is his art to glorify Mrs. Crummles' shoulder of mutton and onion sauce, the 'weal and 'ammer' that Mr. Wegg approved as 'mellering to the orgin,' and the landlord's stew, well remembered by readers of 'The Old Curiosity Shop.'

" 'It's a stew of tripe,'" said the landlord, smacking his lips. "And cow heel," smacking them again, "and bacon," smacking them once more, "and steak," smacking them for the fourth time, "and peas, cauliflowers, new potatoes, and sparrow-grass, all working up together in one delicious gravy."

Having come to a climax he smacked his lips a great many times, and taking a long hearty sniff at the fragrance that was hovering about, put the cover on again with the air of one whose toils on earth were over.'

But Bella Wilfer's wedding dinner at Greenwich stands apart, not only by virtue of a certain idyllic charm, but because the riverside hostel and its pleasant memories, dear to many of us, are now numbered among past delights, vanished, as is the coaching breakfast of earlier times celebrated in 'Tom Brown.'

'What a dinner! Specimens of all the fishes that swim surely had swum their way into it, and if samples of the fishes of divers colours that made a speech in the Arabian Nights (quite a Ministerial explanation in respect of cloudiness) were not to be recognised it was only because they had all become of one hue by being cooked in batter among the white-bait, and the dishes being seasoned with Bliss—an article which they are sometimes out of at Greenwich—were of perfect flavour, and the golden drinks had been bottled in the golden age and hoarding their sparkles ever since.'

The Whistlerian vagueness of the passage only heightens its daintiness of suggestion.

Of rarer essence are those epicures like Lamb and Hazlitt—solitary spirits who read at their meals, and whose grace after meat is thanksgiving for mental or spiritual as well as bodily refreshment. ‘All thoughts, all passions, all delights’ throng round the hermit’s board with such as these and heighten the flavour of the repast, however frugal, as when Hazlitt tells us of his supper at the inn, after a long walk: ‘I had “Love for “Love” in my pocket, coffee was brought in a silver coffee-pot, the bread, the butter and the coffee were all excellent, but the flavour of Congreve’s style prevailed over all’; or when he records, ‘It was on the 10th of April 1798 that I sat down to a volume of the “New Eloïse” at the Inn of Llangollen over a bottle of sherry and a cold chicken. The letter I chose was that in which St. Preux describes his feelings as he first caught a glimpse from the heights of the Jura of the Pays de Vaud, and which I had brought with me as a *bonne-bouche* to crown the evening with.’ But these solitary delights move but few; to most men, as to Brillat-Savarin, society is an integral part of the epicure’s enjoyment.

The author just mentioned must ever be regarded as the master of gastronomic aesthetics, concentrating in his slender work the essence of the voluminous ‘*Almanach des Gourmands*’ and the ‘*Manuel des Amphitryons*,’ even as the chef of the Prince de Soubise pledged himself to condense fifty hams into a phial no larger than his own thumb. It is difficult to decide whether literature or gastronomy has the upper hand in the ‘*Physiologie du Goût*’; whether the charm of the book to the general reader or the value of its aphorisms to the cook be the greater. Brillat-Savarin writes as a Frenchman for the French, and many of his maxims do not command agreement from English tastes. The celebrated axiom that a dinner without cheese is like a pretty woman with one eye, is no longer universally accepted even by his own countrymen. Perhaps, however, this is only a sign of general decadence of taste, and it may be that under the influence of the futurists we shall cease to share Captain Absolute’s prejudice in favour of two eyes. But if Brillat-Savarin be acknowledged as *par excellence* the philosopher of the table, his critic and eulogist Hayward remains the truest apologist of the English dinner. His book ‘*The Art of Dining*,’ compiled from two articles which appeared in the ‘*Quarterly Review*’ in 1835 and 1836, justifies its title, though the author himself after the appearance of his second essay

professed indifference to eating compared with other matters, and declared that he would not eat half the things mentioned in his article if he were paid for it.

Despite his protest that he 'got up the article just as he ' would get up a speech from a brief,' his knowledge of his cult was encyclopaedic, his practical wisdom great, and he himself, as he said of Thackeray, 'not less eminent as a dinner-giver ' than as a diner-out.' His own dinners in his chambers at King's Bench Walk are even yet not forgotten, and, reading his book, we of a later generation are caught back in fancy as unseen guests to 'those delightful parties' which used to include perhaps three, sometimes perhaps only two, of the loveliest and most gifted women that London society boasted, and of men perhaps five. The very names sound like a page from the Greville Memoirs or from Disraeli's novels. Lockhart, Macaulay or Sydney Smith, Bulwer or Sidney Herbert and Graham and the lawless, engaging George Smythe; Mrs. Norton, 'Carry Client,' in pink with a black lace veil, her hair smooth with a knot behind and a string of small pearls across her forehead, and her adorable sister, the loveliest of the Sheridan triad, who belied herself by declaring, 'Georgie ' is the beauty, and Carry is the clever one, and I ought to be ' the good one—but I'm not.'

Where are those parties now? Vanished in the glare and glitter of the huge restaurant, the Babel of crowded tables and the blare of bands; routed by the advance of the bridge-playing battalions.

Another book deserving mention is Walker's 'Original,' not only as one of the happy occasions of Hayward's book, but as one of the earliest protests against the tyranny of the long and often ill-dressed dinner which flourished in his day. It is almost as difficult now to imagine the ordinary dinner party of fifty or sixty years ago as the heroic banquets of an earlier period recorded by Miss Bradley. Imagine the upset and confusion it implied in households of moderate means—the two soups and two fishes placed on the table at once, the four side dishes or entrées making simultaneous appearance with the roast, and the 'removes' giving place to the motley confusion of the *entremets*, asparagus, jellies, macaroni, dressed crab, fruit tarts, aspics and trifles, heaped pell-mell on the table at once. Walker's protest against this wasteful and ridiculous excess heralded the doughtier onslaught of Hayward and Thackeray,

the former establishing his arguments by the first Lord Dudley's cogent dictum: 'A good soup, a small turbot, a neck of venison, ' ducklings with green peas or chicken with asparagus, and an ' apricot-tart, is a dinner fit for an emperor.'

The tyranny of the corner and side dishes was not extinct in the ' sixties,' but we had been steadily advancing none the less, and the ' Frenchified fuss,' *malgré* Thackeray, and the *dîner à la Russe* were making for simplicity among us, if by a somewhat circuitous route. The ' seventies ' and ' eighties ' showed a further advance, fewer dishes and a higher standard of cookery becoming the rule rather than the exception, and hosts and hostesses alike beginning to pique themselves on their knowledge of the science of dining. Sir Henry Thompson's ' Foods ' and Feeding,' a spirited compound of science, of lively divagation and practical advice, was received with respectful interest by a generation which knew him as one of the Amphitryons of his age, *hors concours*. Since then, chatter about cookery has enlivened volumes of miscellaneous and discursive literature without number, amongst which Colonel Newnham-Davis' amusing and dramatic critical chronicle of London restaurants, ' Dinners and Diners,' and those of the accomplished author of ' Pot Pourri from a Surrey Garden,' hold a high rank. True, in her later books Mrs. Earle recants her former creeds, and with the zeal of a proselyte urges us to renounce the delicate dishes, which she formerly instructed us how to prepare, in favour of a monotonous diet of pea-nut coffee, shredded wheat, separated milk and baked apples. But we fancy the old Eve and the spirit of hospitality still so far abide in her that she would fain have her guests or readers enjoy themselves in their own way, even though she forgo the flesh-pots of Egypt for herself.

We are convinced that Mrs. Earle's delicate recipes could not disagree with anyone, and refuse to accept her later creed as a counsel of perfection. Should it ever prove one, gastronomy and its literature will no longer have place among us, and future generations of epicures will have to seek satisfaction in the long delayed realisation of the ideals of ' the ' divine Theodora ' :—' I think when the good time comes we ' shall give up eating in public, except perhaps fruit on a green ' bank with music.'

ETHEL EARL.

WALTER SCOTT AND JOANNA BAILLIE.

Unpublished Letters of Sir Walter Scott to Joanna Baillie. Here printed for the first time by the kind permission of the President of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and with the approval of Miss Hunter Baillie.

II. (*continued*).

TOWARDS the end of May 1812 the Scotts had flitted from Ashestiel to Abbotsford, which now became their headquarters in the country. Later, Scott stayed with his friend Mr. Morritt at Rokeby House, where he 'stored his 'memory with the localities' of the poem. The following unpublished letter refers to it and to other literary matters :

' 16 Oct' 1812, *Melrose*.

' Nothing my dear Miss Baillie can give me so much pride and pleasure as your approbation. I fear however you judge of the first sheet of Rokeby rather by your own vivid conceptions of the manner in which it may be possible to fill up such a sketch than from a just appreciation of my powers and therefore I am sorry you have seen any part of it before the whole 1st Canto which I intend to send you so soon as finishd. I have written to Longman to put him on his guard as to extending his communications as in truth I would have thanked him to have allowd me the pleasure of sending you the sheets myself though the encouragement I have from your sisterly approbation saves him a tight scolding which I can lay on as well as any one. I am certain you will form an idea so much beyond what I can execute that the poem will dissappoint you. This however I should the less care for since I know your friendship would make some apology for me but Mr. Longman may extend his confidence to others who have neither the same inclination nor good sense to make allowance and I am between ourselves a little displeased with my friend Mr. Ballantyne for having given him an opportunity of being either discreet or indiscreet upon the occasion, as I know no business any bookseller has with a book till it is completed for his counter or ware-room.

' Were I desperately jealous of poetical fame I know nothing would make me so fidgetty as your praises because I take the greater part as a sort of payment beforehand which I shall find it very difficult to meet. But *forty* and upward has brought me the wisdom to say with Corporal Nym "things must be as they may" and I feel a strong conviction that I am like the volunteer regiments whom a fortnights drill brought uniformly and rapidly to a certain degree

of discipline and whom a twelvemonths did not carry beyond it. So under this conviction Rokeby is proceeding at the moderate rate of 100 lines a day allowing two hours for walking or coursing.

'As for our popularity the difference is this I use small shot which spreads among the covey and wounds a dozen slightly you fire a single ball which perhaps only hits one out of the twelve but affects that one like lightning and thunder. Your knowledge of human nature and comprehension of human passions has the accuracy and research of the first rate paintings but the vulgar are more struck with a blushing sketch or two than with the traits which go to compose a highly finishd picture. Had Shakespeare lived just now assuredly his vivacity and picturesque powers might have secured him some favourable notice even from the Edin^r Review but do you think the soliloquy of Hamlet or the speech of Jaques would have met with quarter. In fact these with some modern efforts are cases in which the vulgar must be taught what they are to admire, must have the excellencies of the picture dissected and pointed out to them and alas who is disposed to take that trouble for a contemporary.

'I wrote a long letter from Rokeby with the sketch of the story which I hope you have received some time since. In a few days you will receive as Dogburry (sic) says all my tediousness of Canto I. I have only to add that if the Ministers dispark Windsor forest I will turn Whig and stand for Westminster

'Ever yours affectionately

'(signed) WALTER SCOTT.

'*Abbotsford*

'16 October.'

Both Lockhart and Mr. Douglas reprint many letters in 1813-1815, and we do not again reach an unpublished one till 1816, when Scott writes charmingly of marriage and of travel:

'*July 12th, 1816.*

'MY DEAREST FRIEND,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I hear of the event in Dr. Baillie's family which although like all human affairs attended with its own portion of doubt and uncertainty carries with it as fair a prospect of happiness as sublunary events of any kind can well hold out. I have always considered that an exact purity of taste or even of understanding is of very little consequence in the married if there be in the first place principle and in the second place good temper on both sides. Nay I am not sure whether the happiest unions have not usually been those in which there was a considerable difference in the habits and turn of study proper to each party. We easily learn to admire the proficiency and take interest in the accomplishments and occupations of those whom we love and to whom we soon become bound by many common and enduring ties. Affection in such cases does the work of taste and we admire our partner the more that perhaps

we do not feel ourselves totally competent to judge the extent of their acquisitions. Besides if two people ride a horse as the learned Dogberry says one must ride behind and in that case there is sometimes a feeling of contempt on the one hand and of (?) imitating emulation on the other. I suspect a painter or poet would not wish to be matched with an exquisite critic and still less with a dunce addicted to make bad verses or spoil good canvases. In short where there is real good temper competent means and above all a presiding sense of affectionate duty the great requisites of happiness are within their power and I have no doubt your young friend * will find all these in Capt Milligan. He has had the advantage of suffering in the greatest battle ever fought and has in good sense and gallantry a better foundation to claim family regard and respect than if he had written a whole Iliad. My kindest and best congratulations attend them, Dr. and Mrs. Baillie Mrs. Agnes and yourself upon an event which promises so much happiness and which may be expected to extend your family and domestic affections to a new race of beings.

'I am truly glad you are going abroad—nothing gives such a filip to the imagination. The recollection of what I saw last year on the continent has all the freshness and vivacity attending the recollection of scenes which I visited for the first time in early youth and seem to be as it were in *high relief* engraved on my memory amid the fainter traces of ordinary occupations. My family are now in such a state that I can leave them without any thing more than a little anxiety and I fully intend the next year while I have still health and strength for such frolics to take a little frisk as far as Rome and Naples—perhaps as far as Athens—How delightful it would be could we meet in Switzerland or Italy. But that I fear is not in the cards as you will be returning. Paris I am not anxious to see again but I trust you will see it once. There is more of good and bad in it than anywhere else in the world. I do not mean *moral* good of which there is rather a paucity but worldly grandeur and display. It is quite a Vanity-fair: and upon the whole I feel something like the highlander in the old song

I'll awa to the hieland hills
Where deil a ane daur turn her
And no come near your Turnemspike
Unless it be to burn her.

'I am under the necessity of concluding very (?) hastily for I am engaged to escort two valued English friends to see the Highland Scenery—Excellent women and kind friends they are yet I doubt I will hardly be able to make interesting to them things so much out of their habits. Then I fear for bad inns and bad weather. But we

* Mrs. Milligan, née Baillie, died as lately as the nineties of last century.

will make our tour short—only Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond and return by Bothwell Banks and the Falls to Clyde-side. I hope to hear from you before you set out on your tour and when you have fixed your route. Adieu my dearest friend I am *bothered* with twenty troublesome trifles all left to the last moment Yours most affectionately

‘ (signed) WALTER SCOTT.

‘ *Edinburgh 12 July.*’

‘ I will be at Abbotsford within a week after this comes to hand—All join in kind love and respectful compliments of congratulation in which Sophia requires hers to be put in text hand. It is true I sent Mathurins tragedy to Lord Byron many months since—not that I quite liked [the] stile of thing which comes too near the German but because the author being a man of merit in distress I was desirous to do all in my power to help him onward. Love to Mrs. Agnes Baillie and the young bride.’

The Rev. Charles Robert Maturin, above referred to, was curate of St. Peter’s, Dublin, an eccentric man of genius, always in difficulties and haunted by bailiffs. His tragedy of ‘ Bertram ’ was brought out at Drury Lane in 1816, under the auspices of Lord Byron, who was on the committee of the theatre.

The story of Scott’s serious illness in 1817 figures often in his correspondence. His first attack of dangerously severe abdominal cramp occurred on the night of the 5th of March after a merry dinner-party. The date is Lockhart’s, but on the 1st of March we find him already writing to Joanna on the subject. He encloses a letter to the famous physician, her brother :

‘ MY DEAR MRS. BAILLIE,—As I am uncertain whether your brother is in London or at Windsor I send the enclosed under your cover. It respects a very violent and acute complaint—the *cramp* I believe in my stomach for I have no pretensions to the honour of the *gout*—with which I have been assailed three or four times this season with the greatest possible violence. Last night in particular the agony was so great that I fainted which was quite a novelty to me and truly I thought the grim skeleton was about to take my harp out of the minstrels hands—I have never in my life, at least since I was a boy, had any occasion for medical advice but now independent of comfort which whatever stoics say is not quite compatible with violent pain I have no desire to quit this wicked world either upon short warning or so early in life. So that I am humble petitioner to your brother that he will give a few minutes consideration to my case as I agree entirely with the said world in

believing his authority in such a case is worth half the faculty beside. This is one of the penances which he must undergo for having a sister of such poetical genius since it brings on him all the rest of the beggarly tribe and without fees into the bargain. I am much tired and exhausted by passing the whole night sleepless and in such violent pain that it was all my manhood could do to combat a strong disposition I had to groan roud and roar like a Bull calf. And here I am in the Court where I shall presently disgrace my office and fall soundly asleep. And so dear Mrs. Baillie Goodnight yours
W. S.

'Edin. 1st. March 1817.'

Scott continued to suffer from attacks of pain* for two years. In an interval of good health he writes to Joanna Baillie during the summer of 1818, and refers to his illness as a thing of the past. This letter, hitherto unpublished, is carelessly written, but as characteristic and charming as any of those that are in print. It has been wrongly dated, apparently by Joanna herself, as belonging to 1812, but the allusion to the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' which was finished in Venice in 1818, seems to point to the latter year. Lady Byron also appears in the letter as a person in an exceptional position, her separation from Lord Byron having taken place in 1816.

'DEAREST FRIEND,—Nothing can give me more pleasure than to hear that you are well and working—write you must for your mind will frame rare labours while you are knitting your stocking but that you are embodying the mental visions before they fade for the benefit of the public. I have answered your friends letter I am afraid not satisfactorily but to the best of my power and information. I knew the family to which the questions relate very well in my younger days as my father lost a good deal of money by poor Sir James Cockburne a circumstance which certainly would not prevent my doing anything to gratify the family at this time of day. At any rate Mr. Hall's though his request needed neither apology or introduction could have thought of nothing so likely to render it acceptable as a letter from you my dear and admired friend.—You have guessed our *whereabout* quite right for we are all at Abbotsford excepting my eldest boy Walter whose seven leagued limbs are employd in bestriding the Highlands of Perthshire. And we are as well and happy as folks can be whose little wants and wishes are amply supplied and who enjoy good tempers and excellent health. My own health thanks to your kind and wise brother is quite restored only I am as cautious as it is in my nature to be and

* Caused really by gall-stones.

avoid malt liquor and acids. The cramp after repeated visits with diminished strength glided away at length sans leave-taking like Childe Harolde whom you so charitably consign to the naughty man. If he will accept of my cramp to boot it is heartily at his service. Seriously I like the 4th canto as well yea better than some of the former. His misanthropy is less clamorous and his fastidiousness towards the world and all that is on it and in it less intensive. It is not worth being a hypocrite about but surely as a poet and poet of great talent. I like some of his descriptions very much. That of the temple of Clitumnus particularly is I think quite a picture. The red-wood jacobinism is certainly a more crazy passion and makes a moderate man like me tremble at [the] idea of turning the world upside down and giving more power to a corrupted people who show themselves every day more incapable of employing to good and honest purpose that which they have. Surely there is something rotten in the state of Denmark—the commonalty seem to get daily more un-English and debased and violent. I hope they will take some order with these accursed poors-rates which in their effect render the labourers dissolute hard-hearted to their kindred and families discontented and burthens to the commonwealth. The extension of education might also do much, for people may say what they will but making a man well-informed and supplying him with enlarged ideas where it makes one over boiling with discontent with his situation renders one hundred better members of society by teaching other pleasures than those of the alehouse and bringing them acquainted with value both of character and of self restraint. The higher classes are so much improved in many respects in my recollection that I would fain hope the amelioration of their inferiors is not far distant. Yet I have not of late seen much trace of it. We have here to thank God for the finest season I ever saw Scotland has absolutely been Italy the thermometer above 84 in the shade and the mornings and evenings those of paradise. There is no good however without some corresponding evil and I—a heavy hyperborean—could not stir without some risque of dissolution except at very early or late hours. So in performing my duty as monarch of this little state overseeing and directing and so forth I have been half dissolved away—Moreover I have almost died the death of Saint Polycarp for while I was working in a thicket with two assistants they disturbed first one wasps nest then another and I who gravely rebuked them for not looking better about them ended by cramming my own hand into a third which put us to a most inglorious route not without suffering considerably in the pursuit. My groves are thriving delightfully and Joannas bower is losing the appearance of what it was and assuming in some degree that which it is intended to present. Still however untill the laurels and evergreens quite cover the ground it will preserve some likeness to a gravel pit as the Saracens head did to that of Sir Roger de Coverley. I have a little wild-wood glen which I should delight to show you: it is a mere chasm with a streamlet trickling through

it but so well diversified with bushes trees and small cascades that it is quite a witches dell. Moreover I must tell you that the friend who assists me as overseer of my farm who is a person of various attainments and an especial good botanist found the mistletoe in it in winter and within these two days the Enchanters Nightshade which gave us great pleasure as the place is called the Rhymers Glen after Thomas the Rhymers who met the Queen of the fairies either there or somewhere else. Is it not a quiet and peaceable life when such things as these are matters of importance and the gravest occurrences of our twenty four hours.

'How does Lady Byron do? The newspapers sometimes mention her health as indifferent but I know she has lately had the kindness to take charge of a little girl a daughter of Mrs. Henry Siddons and that she was then well. Remember [me] in the kindest manner to Mrs. A. Baillie the kind Doctor and his lady. Do you never mean to visit us again. Come when you will you will reap a harvest of love and respect in the native country to which your talents and no less the meekness with which you bear them are such a distinguished honour. So subscribes himself the weather beaten hulk of your faithful and affectionate friend

' (signed) WALTER SCOTT.

'I am about to forget the many kind remembrances which Mrs. S. and Sophia are dinning into my ears. But probably your greatest admirer in this little family I mean myself always excepted is little Charles who makes a manual of the plays on the passions and has them and Shakespeare all by heart.'

The Sir James Cockburn mentioned early in the letter may have been the unfortunate General James Cockburn, a brave old soldier, who was cashiered in 1783 for allowing the island of St. Eustatius to be seized by the French. Walter is, of course, Scott's eldest son, who was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Walter Scott. Charles Scott, referred to in the postscript, died at Teheran, where he was attaché to the British Embassy, in 1841.

Scott's illness had not departed from him, and in late February 1819 we find Charlotte Sophia Scott, his eldest daughter, who was soon to be married to John Gibson Lockhart, writing, in her delicate Italian hand, to Joanna Baillie to say that her father had not been able to take up his pen because he had been dangerously ill and was still very weak. Scott, however, adds a pathetic postscript to her letter.

In April 1819, expecting immediate death, Sir Walter took solemn leave of his children. At a later date, his symptoms being now less serious, we find him writing a friendly note to

Dr. Matthew Baillie, the eminent physician, whom his medical attendant had consulted by letter.

Scott's bout of illness had lasted rather over six weeks, but it had not been without moments in which he could write long letters. In one of these, quoted by Douglas, he gives a lengthy account to Joanna Baillie of the *Waverley Novels*, and of the beginning of his illness, and ends with the pathetic little paragraph, not before published, 'The grasshopper is still a burthen to me and I feel tired and giddy with making black lines on white paper.'

A gap now occurs in the unpublished as well as the published Scott and Baillie correspondence: 1820, except for one letter reprinted by Mr. Douglas, is a blank in the printed biographies. In Lockhart there is a single letter dated the 11th of June 1821. But in 1822 we have three letters, of which the following has not been published as yet. Sir Walter's contribution to some miscellany edited by Joanna is not traceable. The brother referred to was his third brother, Thomas, paymaster in a line regiment. The son had been living at Abbotsford for some two years previous to his father's death, and had been adopted by Sir Walter.

Thomas Scott, a man of brilliant talents, had been credited with the authorship of the *Waverley Novels*. 'Look knowing when *Waverley* is spoken of,' the real author had written to him as long ago as 1814.

'Dec. 29th 1822.

'MY DEAR MISTRESS BAILLIE,—My intended contribution will reach you in three or four days I have been delayd partly by my pipes being out of tune and they are yet in execrable bad harmony—I have tried my subject out of door and in door and did all short of the exertions of the good lady who to make *Paradise Lost* rhyme which she thought was essential to poetry read it in the kitchen and in the hall and in the garret and at length took it out to the Leaping-on-stone. Really I am ashamed of what I have written and it is with much difficulty I muster courage enough to transcribe it. However whether it please your taste or not I will be satisfied if it satisfy you how much I wish to obey your commands—One thing between ourselves has distressed me terribly of late. My brother now the only relative left me out of a large family that stood in the same degree of connection is dying in Canada under the dreadful circumstances of debt and an unprovided family This has really annoyd me very much for I had reason to think his very fine talents were at length rendering their master some service. But Gods

will must be done. His son whom I had long since adopted is now with me. He has got an appointment for India in the Engineers and I hope will do well at least he has an excellent capacity a strong turn for mathematical science and natural philosophy and I hope will do well. The eldest daughter is married to Major Huxley of the 70th a fine liberal young soldier who came over to Europe to see what could be done in my brothers untoward affairs and is now my guest.

'All this I would not tell to any one else but really it stupefies one so much as to make an apology for the stuff you will receive in three or four days at furthest under Mr. Freling's cover.

'I was rather ill after the Kings visit the consequence of very hard exercise of body and mind not to mention too much good living which I have no doubt had its share in my malady which [was] fortunately not of a dangerous nature though for two months I could not mount on horseback.

'I write in great haste Kind Compliments to Mrs. Baillie My next will cover our little subscription to your charitable purpose.

'Ever yours (signed) W. SCOTT.

'*Abbotsford*

'*29 December.*'

'I wish you many many New Years Ours will be rather a sad one.'

Mr. Douglas's reprints of Scott-Baillie letters end in the year 1823, and those of Lockhart in October 1825. In January 1826, Sir Walter told his host (Skene) that he was a beggar. The financial crisis had arrived, and Sir Walter's long and heroic struggle to write off his debts was soon to begin. Domestic sorrows followed close on the heels of bankruptcy. On the 15th of May 1826 Lady Scott died. Theirs had been a long and affectionate married life, for the lady, though not particularly intellectual, was the best of wives and mothers. At the same period the Lockharts' only boy fell sick of an incurable spinal disease, and the grandfather writes that his cries are always in his ears, and that he has the gravest fears for his daughter's (Mrs. Lockhart's) health. She, as a matter of fact, did not long survive her father. The two following letters may therefore be said to break new ground in Sir Walter's correspondence with Joanna Baillie. The first letter characteristically makes no reference to his ruin; the second has its touch of regret and of fatigue.

'*Sept* 26th, 1826.

'MY DEAREST FRIEND,—I have been treating you unkindly but not from the heart as Sterne said to his (?) Monk. There are feelings

which we expose reluctantly even to those of whose sympathy we are most secure and therefore I only say that feeling the great domestic loss which I have sustained as it is natural I should feel an event which has so materially diminished those ties which bind a man to life I am neither insensible of nor unthankful for the blessings which God has been pleased to send me in kind friends and a most affectionate and promising family I have had them all round me for some weeks this season and our circle has been augmented by young Surtees who came to visit Charles and who is always a wellcome guest. So I interest myself as well as I can in what pleases them and looking to that family society and my literary employment I find comfort and patience.

'Your martyr came well to assist this sort of twilight state of mind and I am obliged to the kind author who stole me from very painful feelings at a very recent period after my calamity. The serious turn of the piece was well adapted to my state of mind and the subject precluded some of those wilder flights of fancy which distinguishd your former dramas yet it displayed the same genius under a more sober tint of colour. I wish you would give us a volume however for to tell you the truth single dramas are but like a sandwich when one is looking for his dinner—a most vile comparison but let it stand written as it expresses that which I mean better than a round-about modification of the phrase.

'I am myself but sending a sandwich of a letter for I am disposed to get it within a frank to our friend Richardson and said frank must go to the post in a quarter of an hour otherwise it will be unavailing. Remember [me] most kindly to Mrs. Agnes Baillie and believe me my very dear and respected friend Entirely yours

(signed) WALTER SCOTT.

'*Abbotsford 26th Sept.*'

'This unceremonious haste must also excuse a wafer.'

Young Surtees above mentioned was Villiers Surtees, the schoolfellow of Charles Scott at Lampeter and his friend at the University of Oxford, where they received Sir Walter on the occasion of his visit there. He afterwards became one of the Supreme Judges of Mauritius. 'Our friend Richardson' was a poetical lawyer, as 'good, honourable, kind-hearted (a) little fellow as lives in the world,' according to Scott, who had introduced him to Joanna Baillie as a neighbour as long ago as 1813. John Richardson was perhaps the only Londoner, outside the family, allowed to see the great author when he returned through London to die at Abbotsford in 1832.

'*July 21st, 1827.*

'MY DEAREST MRS. BAILLIE,—How many pretty letters I should write if I had good eyes and alert fingers as in former days and if I

did not look upon a writing desk with pretty much the same feelings that a turnspit cur regards his wheel sure to get a slice of the roast meat at the end (that is your kind and most wellcome reply) but at the same time having no appetite whatsoever to the intermediate operation of turning the spit. Yet the disposition to procrastinate when I would most wish to be prompt in my correspondence always gives way the instant I hear from you and I long to write on the instant especially if I have as on the present occasion a frank at my elbow.

'As for the foolish mystery about the novels the mask was worn threadbare and there was no use in letting it fall to pieces by degrees so I took advantage of something or other that was said at the meeting and although I had not intended to make the avowal the moment before out it came.

'Via! the curtain that shadowed Borgia.

'I believe there are some folks yet who are not fully convinced but stroke their heads and augur strange matters. They must die in their Infidelity and lucky they are that it is no point of doctrinal importance.

'I am very glad you have seen my niece Anne she is a sensible steady good girl and playd almost a daughters part in our family distresses of the preceding year. I think my daughter Anne saw her American friend Miss Douglas I believe is the name in Edinburgh but having only a furnishd lodging we could not show her any attention.

'I am glad to hear of Mr. Buller's finding amusement in his travels but for once my dearest Mrs Baillie you are a little wrong—Wants energy and perseverance? No! no! He has too much money and wants the strong spur of necessity a rider who dashes it up to the head and makes folks find energy and perseverance. If I wanted to prevent a young man from exerting first-rate talents otherwise than for the delight of his friends and the improvement of his own happiness I would give him a good estate and wisdom to take care of it. I suspect many of our great bards were not poor because they were poets but poets because they were poor. Bullie Shakespeare I dare say would rather have been drinking ale and cracking jokes with his fellow deerstealers or wandering in a wild and useless rhapsody about the Warwickshire forests than writing plays out of Hollinshed for amusement of an audience who were fighting for half bitten apples.

'Well but then what becomes of *fame* the spur which the clear spirit doth raise? Cant say indeed but I suspect it has lost some of [its] stimulus in the present day. There may be indeed one instance of its influence in a certain lady who persists in calling herself old even now though destined to live to the end of the language She perhaps has no other motive than the love of fame mixed perhaps with the feeling of the fire which Elihu describes as glowing within him and bursting forth in spite of him.

'I have forgot my misdemeanours about Allan Ramsay I hope

nothing very bad for though in fact I am no admirer of Peter and Rodger yet I would deserve to be hanged for giving up a popular idol to the scorn of the Southron It would be like spitting upon Saint Andrews cross a thing not to be thought of though it is but two pieces of white stick cross diagonally.

'As for Bonapart I have certainly wished and studied to be fair I do not object to him in the least as an usurper of the rights of the Bourbons but as an usurper of the rights of liberty all over the world and reducing everything to a military tyranny. If I have any cavalier feelings it is to his conduct as a gentleman He wanted neither good nature nor a desire to serve humanity but he had not with the most splendid powers otherwise the nicety which we call gentlemanly feeling Yet he was and will remain the greatest man of his time.

'I will be happy to show Mr. Carr any attention in my power though he will need none but if he could spare us a day at Abbotsford it would give us great pleasure to see a friend of yours there since it must not be yourself. At Edinburgh I almost never go out so that I have little chance to see any who belong to the gayer and younger circles. I will be *most happy* to see Mr. Carr at Abbotsford and will write to John Richardson to bring him if he can.

'You put me on the tenter hooks about your witchcraft story. Do you know I fear my Great Grandmother by the mothers side must have been a relation of Miss Christian [] who played such devilry I ask myself in vain how you will manage whether you will bring in the very enemy whether you will make your witch impostor one who imposes on herself I think a wicked woman desirous of becoming a witch and half believing that she was one would be a terrible character.

'The breakfast bell rings—for I am (?) not now at home but on a visit and God bless you and yours and dear Mrs. Agnes in particular Most truly your faithful and affectionate friend

' (signed) WALTER SCOTT.

' *Meath House*

' 21 July.

'Sophia has been at sea bathing but joins me on Friday.'

The meeting above referred to, at which Scott confessed to the authorship of the Waverley Novels, was a dinner held on the 23rd of February 1827 in Edinburgh, in aid of the decayed actors of the Edinburgh Theatre. It was the first occasion of importance on which Sir Walter had appeared after his troubles. The scene of tremendous enthusiasm when he rose to make his confession has been fully described by Lockhart.

This letter with its broad human note and manly view of life is a fitting close to a famous correspondence.

VICTOR G. PLARR,

CURRENT LITERATURE

1. *Cardinal Manning and other Essays.* By JOHN EDWARD COURTENAY BODLEY. Longmans, Green. 1912.
2. *Portraits and Sketches.* By EDMUND GOSSE, C.B. Heinemann. 1912.
3. *At Prior Park.* By AUSTIN DOBSON. Chatto and Windus. 1912.
4. *A Christmas Garland.* By MAX BEERBOHM. Heinemann. 1912.
5. *A Wiltshire Village.* By ALFRED WILLIAMS. Duckworth. 1912.
6. *Nature and other Poems.* By ALFRED WILLIAMS. Erskine MacDonald. 1912.
7. *The Poems of Rosamund Marriott Watson.* John Lane. 1912.
8. *The Note Books of Samuel Butler.* Selections arranged and edited by HENRY FESTING JONES. Fiffeld. 1912.

THE essays in Mr. Bodley's volume are founded upon three lectures given at the Royal Institution in 1911. 'It would have been a light task,' he says in his preface, 'to turn them into a heavy volume . . . Nothing is easier than 'prolix writing; while no literary exercise is harder than 'compression.' It is to the second and longest of the three essays that these remarks most clearly apply—'The Decay of Idealism in France.' For twenty-three years Mr. Bodley has been a close and enthusiastic observer and student of France—its 'history, institutions, public policy, mentality.' Out of a vast collection of *dossiers* accumulated during that period, his 'France,' published in 1908, was composed, and there still remains enough material to form more volumes 'than I could ever produce, even though my years 'were extended to those of the survivors of the burning of 'Moscow who have recently taken an animated part in the 'centenary revels.' Mr. Bodley's survey has convinced him that French idealism is doomed; that there is no indication and little hope of its ultimate recovery; and that even the hitherto immutable law of the periodical recurrence of action

and reaction all the world over is, at least in this regard, no longer valid. The 'mechanical age' has murdered idealism. Its onset and progress form an infinitely more significant phenomenon in human affairs than any previous shifting of values or racial upheaval. Its influence has wholly transformed human mentality and human nature itself.

It is obvious that the comprehensiveness of such a theme as this defies any brief treatment of it, though compression confined such treatment to the quintessential. Moreover, what should prove an even more vital and interesting aspect of his subject Mr. Bodley has been compelled to leave to the future—'the decay of Tradition in England.' The present essay is not a flight into the intense inane of metaphysics. Mr. Bodley is confining his term idealism to *terra firma*; even so, it is not quite obvious what precise definition he applies to the word. It is, he says, the idealism of the man on the boulevards—of the peasant, the politician, the journalist, the playwright, and also of the philosopher who speaks the language of the people. It is a 'practical idealism'—the inspiration alike of the French Revolution, of the fall of the Monarchy, of a Republican Utopia. In Brunetière's phrase, 'Ce sont les 'idées qui gouvernent le monde'; in Alfred de Vigny's, 'Le 'vrai Dieu, le Dieu fort, est le Dieu des idées.'

Of such an idealism, the Dreyfus affair, Mr. Bodley considers, was the last genuine and extremely explosive manifestation. Both sides in that protracted and furious conflict were the slaves of an idea. On the one hand, we have the enthusiast who shot at M. Dreyfus at the ceremony, long after the actual *affaire*, when the remains of Zola were transferred to the Panthéon, 'My gesture,' he explained to his judges, 'my gesture was symbolic: I fired the shot at an idea.' On the other, we have the furious Dreyfusard, who, when Mr. Bodley—himself that most formidable of partisans, the possessor of a cross-bench mind—mentioned that he had had the privilege of meeting Dreyfus, flew into a noble rage—'Qu'est-ce que ça me fait?' he cried, 'Le Capitaine Dreyfus 'ne m'intéresse point.' This same idealist had even declined to meet Dreyfus lest his abstract idealism should be contaminated by some concrete disillusion. Of less fine clay, certainly, are the citizens who throng the precincts

of the Old Bailey at the conclusion of a notorious trial.

Scanning the last century, Mr. Bodley traces the growth and blossomings, the changes and vicissitudes of French idealism, enriching his pages with the names of distinguished writers, Brunetière, Gabriel Monod, Melchior de Vogüé, Boutmy, M. Clemenceau, and many others, with whom he himself has been on terms of close acquaintance or of intimate friendship. Roughly summarised, his conclusions are that the chief causes of 'decay' are three—the pessimism that was the outcome of the defeat of 1870; the influence of certain individual writers—the dulcet iconoclasm of Renan, the withering nihilism of 'Anatole France'—seed cast upon only too eager a soil; and the surrender of the classical idea in education: the last as much an effect as a cause. Infinitely more deadly has been the influence (to which M. Victor Margueritte, on *his* side, ascribes the actual renaissance of the French race) of bicycle, motor car, and aeroplane: the outstanding achievements of the mechanical age. It is these inventions that have struck at the roots of nationalism; and nationalism was the cradle of French idealism. Though education has enabled an enormous public to read, it reads only newspapers, and they, thanks to the telegraph, have become the mouthpiece of an impersonal and convictionless We—a cosmopolitan Mr. Anon. Politicians are now of an international type. Vanished are the opportunities for personal courage, initiative, daring, that once made war the arena of national ideals. (Let Admiral Togo, let General Savoff, let the stokers of every *Dreadnought* reply!) As in private life one's most embittered enemies are one's remoter relatives, so the superficial amity of nations will only envenom future conflict. Beauty and romance have left their ancient haunts; the literary spirit is on the wane. Lost is the true Gallic genius. Sport and mechanics and journalism have killed talk. Owls and bats occupy the *salon*. Only the beautiful French language is left to tell the tale; only two great guardians survive to preserve the great tradition—the Théâtre-Français and the Institute of France. 'La folie des idées: vive le Fait!'

It is true that when Mr. Bodley, seeking for corroboration of his thesis, addressed himself to Madame Duclaux, she returned him the names of four illustrious champions of a living

idealism : M. Bergson, M. Romain Rolland, M. François de Curel and M. Maurice Barrès. But Mr. Bodley will accept none of them, while M. de Foville's defence of French socialistic ideals is dismissed because Socialism is not essentially French.

Mr. Bodley's is an eloquent indictment, and no artifice of skill or wit or irony is wanting to drive it home. But his own intensity weakens the force of his argument. In his enthusiasm for the ideals that have inspired a passing generation, he has fallen a prey to the darkest pessimism regarding the present, and seems to have forgotten that the golden past was once the ominous future. Ideals change and perish ; but humanity will never live by facts alone. The curse of the mechanical age may prove itself at last a blessing in disguise. Man is pushing on in the ever-urgent conquest of his environment ; but—unless universal madness be imminent—is taking his soul with him. Time that antiquates antiquities will gild with romance the novelties of to-day. And imagination will at last take possession of the regions subjugated by reason and science.

Mr. Bodley's essay on Manning is intended in some degree to counteract the ' pious perfidy ' of his official biographer—an office which, had Manning's own wishes been fulfilled, would have devolved on Mr. Bodley himself. Its sharpest note is a reference to Newman as ' the most attractive and most ' colossal egoist that ever lived '—a colossal egoist—in Aubrey de Vere's words—' of a kind of original remoteness mingled ' with extremely tender grace.' Newman indeed will not lack ardent defenders, and Mr. Bodley's essay is not wholly controversial. Mr. Bodley's friendship with Manning was one of ' extraordinary intimacy ' despite the disparity in age between them. He used often to go to the grim barrack called Archbishop's House for a talk in the evening, and would divert the weary, lonely old man, still ' an old Parson,' with the cream of the week's scandal. ' And Manning would ' pat me affectionately on the shoulder with, " Well, well, it is a ' wicked old world, isn't it ? "' They could talk at ease, with a deprecatory ' Forgive my togs,' of what ' the others ' didn't care about—the others whom the Cardinal had once overheard describe him as ' a forward piece.' Manning, after a brilliant career, had ' become a Catholic off my own bat,'

and was ever a fighter. But Mr. Bodley insists not so much on this secular side of his personality, but on the fact that his one wish in old age was 'to ease the burden of the poor'; that though 'his humour, like that of many ecclesiastics of all 'confessions, was at times what some people might call profane,' and his prejudices were acute, Manning remains in his friend's remembrance 'the only good man I have known 'intimately.'

Mr. Bodley's third and last essay—lucid, exhaustive, full of delightful personal touches—is on the Institute of France. Alas, that it should have been intended when composed as a chilling retort against a too sanguine inquirer concerning the opportunities and chances of academies nearer home. But that is Mr. Bodley's 'note.' He praises eloquently times past. The future will take care of itself.

It is not so much against 'pious perfidy' as against the excessive and reverential *caution* of modern biography that Mr. Gosse is inclined to rebel. That a boy's best friend is his mother does not necessarily imply that his ideal biographer may be discovered among his aunts. He praiseth best who loveth best: and a profound reverence and regard for rare qualities of mind and heart and genius are the chief incentives of 'Portraits and 'Sketches.' But to give life and actuality to a portrait a keen sense of the idiosyncrasies of the sitter is also needed. Nothing so much humanises and endears a great man as a record of 'his little ways.' He must be a man before he is an immortal. 'It was Lang's habit,' says Mr. Gosse, 'to pick out of literature 'and of life the plums of romance.' 'His gentleness and 'elegance were relieved by a sharp touch.' It is just such plums—of episode, of repartee, of the queer and lovable—and a like delicately acid flavour, that give richness and zest to these pages. There are thirteen portraits, and, however close or cursory the contact between artist and subject may have been, there is not one that does not vitalise and reanimate.

But to reveal life in others one must be sharply alive oneself. A slight exaltation of mind, a concentrated curiosity, even acute shyness or an almost painful sense of insignificance, not only sharpens one's powers of observation but indelibly graves only the salient and really significant upon the memory. Many such intensified moments as these Mr. Gosse has serenely

recalled. His figures stand out with that touch of the peculiar, or even grotesque, which only the finest and fleetest observation and a very heedful handling can bestow without risk of distortion or of caricature. We view Swinburne, or 'Orion' Horne, or Whittier, or Shorthouse, through a distinctly rarefying though never falsifying medium. The poise and the recovery, the fluent ease, are delightful :

'Mr. Aubrey de Vere's appearance at about the age of eighty-three is very vivid in my recollection. He entered the room swiftly and gracefully, the front of his body thrown a little forward, as is frequently the case with tall and active old men. . . . His forehead, which sloped a little and was very high and domed, was much observed in the open air from a trick he had of tilting his hat back. I used to think, very profanely, that in profile he bore a quite absurdly close resemblance to the Hatter in "Alice's Adventures," especially when, as was frequently the case, he recited poetry. I am sure that any open-minded person who recollects Mr. De Vere will admit that Sir John Tenniel's immortal drawing of the Hatter repeating "Twinkle, twinkle, little bat !" is irresistibly reminiscent of our revered friend.'

The sly universality of 'was much observed in the open air'; the candid appeal to 'any open-minded person'; the sober yet still twinkling recovery of 'our revered friend'—it is the cumulative effect of countless fine touches such as these, the nice balance of each against each, which is the secret of an art of portraiture familiar with art's secret. And so, whether poet or man-of-letters, novelist or historian be Mr. Gosse's prey, each buoyantly survives his own eccentricities and his biographer's unsparing precision. Swinburne is no less an apparition of magnificent audacity, a flame-enaureoled priest of Apollo; for being compared to a grasshopper :—'his little feet 'close together, his arms against his side folded in his frock-coat like a grasshopper in its wing-covers and fallen asleep.' His raptures and indignation and inordinate enthusiasms flash with stranger brightness against the dark moods of taciturn dejection and despair : he becomes the more human for a suggestion of the slightly extra-human. We admire him in the joy of these confidences not one whit the less as a poet and we understand and love him as a man. So too, whatever his future magnitude, 'Orion' Horne will continue faintly to sparkle amid the poetic constellations, because remembrance will so fondly dwell upon a little mincing old gentleman, still 'shaking

'his white ringlets and consoling himself with his guitar.' And 'John Inglesant' remains a remarkable book although at the moment of its inspiration Shorthouse is painted here as 'a shy, Quakerish manufacturer [of vitriol], without literary 'training, subdued by persistent ill-health.' Festus Bailey or Tennyson, Melchior de Vogüé or Wolcott Balestier—all are magnets worthy of Mr. Gosse's steel. 'I cannot say'—he writes of Mandell Creighton—'I cannot say that this brilliant clergy-man (tall, lean, sinewy, hawk-eyed, bushy-bearded) of doubtful age and intimidating reputation was quite the companion 'I should have ventured to choose.' But Fate pursues its own designs, and in the Islands of the Blest must now sit a unique ecclesiastic inscrutably smiling his thanks to a critic who claims for him not so much that he was spiritually-minded, or that he was an ecstatic mystic, or that he was profoundly interested in the externalities of the religious life, but that underlying 'his very flippancy,' if you will, 'burned a strenuous enthusiasm 'and purity of soul.'

'At Prior Park' adds nine finished vignettes of eighteenth-century manners and characters to Mr. Austin Dobson's already large and valuable collection. Two of the papers describe famous old houses—Prior Park and Stowe. Among the many illustrious guests hospitably entertained by Ralph Allen—the original of Squire Allworthy in 'Tom Jones'—was Alexander Pope. Few things test and reveal character so much as the sentiment and expression of gratitude. Pope had his own queer waspish way :

'Let low-born Allen, with an awkward shame,
Do good by stealth and blush to find it fame.'

Thomson, the guest of Lord Temple, showed less art in giving thanks but more amenity :

'Oh lead me to the wide extended walks,
The fair majestic paradise of Stowe.'

Two artists are included in Mr. Dobson's volume, 'Carmen-telle,' who for more than twenty years was 'Ordonnateur des 'fêtes en général' to the Duke of Orleans and survived most of his sitters as well as the French Revolution; and Philip de Loutherbourg, R.A., etcher, caricaturist and painter of

'unusual precocity, dexterity, and fertility of resource.' He played many parts in a chequered career. Introduced to Garrick by Jean Monnet of the Opéra-Comique as 'un de nos grands peintres,' he proved himself a masterly designer of scenery—of thunderstorm and seraglio—and a daring innovator in stage-craft. He also invented the *Eidophusika*, a kind of glorified peepshow, an ingenious anticipation of the cinematograph. He turned mesmerist; travelled with Cagliostro; was, like many another mere man, only just prevented by 'an exasperated female relative' from discovering the philosopher's stone; set up as an inspired physician; and again anticipated our own enlightened days by a zealous advocacy of barley-water. Evidence of the more romantic of these achievements is a little vague. Some of them hardly seem to harmonise with the statement that he was held in great esteem for the uniform propriety of his conduct.

In addition to these essays, Mr. Dobson includes a paper on Robert Lloyd, a minor parodist and a boon-companion of Churchill. Modest, affectionate and generous, he attempted to live on his bays and died, at thirty-one, in the Fleet—thus affording an opportunity to moralise which Mr. Dobson only just resists. Another paper has for subject Gray's biographer, the placid and highly respectable Rev. William Mason, whose 'Elfrida' was compared by a kindly reviewer (of a species happily not yet extinct) to the writings of Sophocles, Plato, Pindar, Homer and Virgil. And best of all, in 'A Fielding Find,' Mr. Dobson prints two of the latest, if not the last, letters from the novelist: one of them addressed from 'The Queen of Portugal' in Tor Bay, the other from Lisbon, and both to his brother, 'dear Jack.' In the first of these Fielding writes that he is sending a 'Lover of this Liquor' as of 'Port Wind' '2 Hhds. of Cyder' to be shared among his friends; he inquires the 'Price of Wheat per Load at Uxbridge' and returns to the inner man and the classics with: 'I got half a Buck from the New Forest, while we lay at the Isle of Wight, and the pasty still sticks by us. We have here the finest of fish, turbot, vast soals and whittings for less than you can eat plaise in Mddx. So that Lord Cromarty's Banishment from Scotland hither was somewhat less cruel than that of Ovid from Rome to Pontus.' The second letter is not less appetising. It describes Fielding's adventures on arriving

at his 'kintor' (i.e. quinta, a small country-house) near Lisbon, how his 'Spirits which were at the top of the house' have been 'thrown down into the Cellar,' by the machinations of a Miss Margaret Collier, who had suggested that Mrs. Fielding, ill and crying and sighing all day to return to England, should have her wish—a course that would have left the intriguer mistress of the field. Fielding asks for clothes to be sent, 'my Tye and a 'new Mazer Perriwig from Southampton Street and a new Hat 'large in the Brim from my Hatter, the corner of Arundel 'Street.' He orders four hams and a very fine hog fatted as soon as may be, and cut into flitches; also a Cheshire cheese and one of Stilton. Alas, neither cheese nor bacon ever reached the great and wholesome Englishman: in five or six weeks he was dead.

Historians sketch out the large design of history and weave again time's tapestry. With finer threads, such writers as Mr. Dobson stitch its detail in, here a little and there a little, until a complete century takes colour and liveliness, particularity and coherence. They spend immense pains to ensure a tiny accuracy, to retrieve some doubtful fact in a half-forgotten career. Minute knowledge and sedulous research are unbetrayed by any hint of effort or of parade. Figures that once were life-size but have shrunk in the perspective of the past are restored at least to marionettish bulk and activity, of a size not less fascinatingly focusable than that suggested by 'Sally Lunn of Lilliput Alley.' Interest is enkindled in things not less attractive—and the more human—because they are transitory: modes of dress and etiquette: everything curious and individual: the scandal that in the charity of time has come to be only a pretty story: the minor verse that once resembled the writings of Pindar, Plato, and the rest, and is now as silent as a drift of winter snow in the nest of a linnet. And though Mr. Dobson has those hard and refractory articles of literary commerce, facts, to deal with, he muffles their rattle in a delightfully quiet and fastidious prose. And though too, it is impossible to say it of any one particular page, yet a faint dreamy haze—merely the glass of the intervening years—a little mournful in effect, hangs over all. The entomologist whistles cheerfully enough over his camphor and pins, though not a flutter stirs but what his own breath causes. So on *our* famous men, on the apparently temporarily indispensable, an essayist of the coming centuries will turn his

Optic Tube. If his eye be as clear, his curiosity as diligent and sympathetic as that of Mr. Dobson, gratitude alone should stir their peaceful bones.

The 'patient little efforts' of Mr. Max Beerbohm are another matter. Parody is the most trying and insidious form of criticism because it is at the same time the most personal and impersonal. It records a lucid intellect's adventures among masterpieces. At its best it is a mimicry not so much of the genius of an author as of his own gradually acquired conception of it. A man's style is less rarely the man himself than what he supposes to be a somewhat flattering reflection of himself. The monster has dominated the ingenious Frankenstein. And many writers become the slaves not only of their own manner but of their own matter too. These are the most vulnerable victims for the parodist. The ordeal has its trials. But to have earned a few sharp thorns in 'A Christmas Garland' implies the possession of at least a tuft or two of laurel. Max has 'crowned' no less than seventeen of his contemporaries—and in his prefatory note has with a last refinement of justice all but included himself.

The best of his skits are of craftsmen like Mr. Henry James, Mr. Benson, Mr. Galsworthy, Mr. Gosse, Mr. George Moore—writers who, like Mr. Beerbohm himself, are fastidious and conscious artists. By a legerdemain little short of uncanny, he is at times more his author than his author is himself. He simply allows him ample rope: and the result at times is all but homicidal. 'The stainless purity of the surplices of clergy 'and choir'; 'In regard to Christmas, Percy could not help 'wishing that Charles Dickens had laid more stress on its 'spiritual element'; 'He never condemned a thing, but 'wondered, rather, whether it were right, and could not help 'feeling that somehow it was not.' Such fragments as these are a criticism not merely of the pensive fluency of a stylistic writer like Mr. Benson, but of his extremely popular and somewhat elegiac philosophy. In the same way Max catches the precise swing of Mr. Chesterton's see-saw of commonplace and commonplace-inside-out, his rollicking mysticism, his jovial bathos, his jolly democratic directness—'the *tousled* heads of 'the shepherds by night.' But he fails in sheer success with Mr. Kipling; while 'The Feast' by Joseph Conrad is farce, not comedy. A kindly counsellor of youth once suggested that before expressing any sort of an opinion on

a fellow-creature one should ask one's heart three questions: 'Is what I am going to say kind? Is it true? Is it necessary?' The second question was plain sailing: but which of the others, we wonder, set Max to work?

Mr. Bodley's mechanical age has a vigorous opponent in Mr. Alfred Williams. 'Is this really the age of comfort,' he asks his reader in 'A Wiltshire Village'; 'of enlightenment and prosperity? Who is so foolish as to believe it? Do *you* believe it? If so, you are past simplicity. To me it is waste and folly and madness.' Mr. Williams is speaking from hard experience. As a boy he earned his living in the fields. He left the country and for many years worked as a forgerman in a foundry. Loathing the monotony, artificiality and ugliness of this life, but never becoming the puppet of its conditions—in his spare hours he taught himself Greek and Latin and read all the classics—he at last gave it up and returned to his Wiltshire village to find peace in its memories, solitudes, simplicity, wholesomeness and beauty. His book is a long rambling talk about the queer characters that have lived and died in this old village under the Downs, its field-ways and wild-flowers, fish and water-mills and children. So long as he is singing the delights of the country, the joys of quiet and of musing, and celebrating the hedger, haymaker and harvester—'three of the finest trades since Adam'—his reader, who had better take the finest trades on trust, will be as happy as he is himself. But when Mr. Williams turns to lash his age, his moralisings are not only drastic but are sometimes contradictory and invariably inclined to be rhetorical and over-emphatic. Roundly, we are all too clever nowadays! 'Brains are becoming far too plentiful to be useful.' We teach too much, too many children, and not the right things. It is a statement that sweeps the way clear to an enormous field of argument, an immense array of conflicting facts. Mr. Williams's own ideal of education is on sound foundations. It is certain that if a man find solitude a boon and his own company pretty good company, he is likely to be a passable citizen and fellow-creature. The best things to teach are therefore such as 'will remain in after-life, and provide profit and amusement.' For these Mr. Williams had only to go to school to his own heart. His poems express his devotion to contemplation and to Nature. At their best they attain to the expression of a mystical exaltation of spirit:

'I long to escape to the little wooded glen, or field with the cattle
 grazing,
 Or hide myself in the old forked willow over the stream . . .
 My soul cries for the long sloping hill, perched above the valley,
 The delicate curving hill, the old ancient inheritance . . .
 I have no desire of riches, nor of honour, I enjoy all naturally ;
 I am the heir of all that I see, that is my possession ;
 And the things that are invisible and eternal are mine also . . .
 I have drawn a strange breath, I have smelt life with my nostrils,
 I have imbibed scents, I have drunk of the well of mystery ;
 I have seen Beauty playing with her sisters under the trees in the
 meadows,
 And naked Love, purer than a lily, bathing in the sunlight.'

Eloquence and facility are the danger of Whitmanesque verse of this nature. It is freed alike from the cold rigour of prose and from the discipline of metre. But truth and sincerity are the impulse of all Mr. Williams's poems. He has stood face to face with life, knows its worst, and in his own strength and by his own insight and effort, has pierced down to that inward simplicity and truth which free the mind from the bonds of circumstance and are a safeguard against success. He writes to express himself, not to impress his readers. But poetry must be heedful of waste and excess. A little more economy and restraint would intensify the effect of his work. They would give concision and that finish of form which is not only the art of poetry but which alone can survive the onslaught of time.

Whether or not he is conscious of it, that is the aim of every true artist—to give endurance to the transitory ; to exact from mortal life a promise of immortality ; to gain for love and beauty an abiding-place. Rare are the moments in the life of even a true poet when by some strange concentration of power he can achieve this perfection. That Rosamund Marriott Watson was a true poet is proved not only by the best of her work but by its whole impulse. It offers the intimacy of a tender and sensitive nature. The pervading tone of the more mature work is one of melancholy—the melancholy that sometimes saddens the face of a child, that haunts even the sunshine of April. A wistful turning back to the happy past, a love that is left solitary, a longing for peace, are the recurrent themes of many of her songs. They express moods and reveries rather than passion, but always with intense though quiet feeling. Colour and music and a delicate craftsmanship have

gone to their making. Their beauty is the beauty of a kind of mirage that haunts the borders between wake and dream. There is no bitterness, no railing against fate ; nor on the other hand is there any supreme message of philosophy or wisdom ; only a loveliness caught as it flies in light and shadow, falling flower or dream or hope, a sweet and desolate remembrance of youth and innocence come and gone, ' the pipes plaining shrilly, ' calling me home.' Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has chosen three of Mrs. Rosamund Marriott Watson's poems for inclusion in his new ' Oxford Book of Victorian Verse.' This selection very far from exhausts the poems that are worthy of such a place. The later 'D'Outremer' is not there, nor 'The Haunted Palace,' nor 'To a Child,' nor 'A Summer Night,' nor 'Requiescat,' nor 'Finis,' nor the beautiful 'Nocturn' which follows :

'The air is dark and sweet
This wet Spring night—
Spring, of the wandering feet,
The secret flight,
Calls through the slow, soft rain—
O voice of gold !
Call for me once again,
As oft of old.

'The darkness sighs and stirs,
Blind, blind and slow ;
Night-wandering loiterers,
The veiled airs go ;
Mutes of the hidden spell,
The hidden power,
These—but my heart knows well
Its magic hour. . . .

'My heart's one festival,
O, far or near,
The Spring could never call,
And I not hear ;
Deep under graveyard grass,
It could not be,
The Spring could never pass,
And I not see. . . .

'My heart, my heart would break
Could it be so—
To think that Spring should wake
And I not know.'

'All philosophies, if you ride them home, are nonsense,' said Butler, and he intended no disparagement of nonsense. His

'Note Books' prove that he rode home every philosophy that came in his way for sheer delight in the exercise, and that he never failed to be refreshed when he reached his journey's end. The one thing he hated was stagnation. Though 'in a way' death may be said to be better than life, it is in a very small 'way': as for dying—that process has absolutely nothing to commend it. Wherefore try all things, be anything, do anything, so long as you escape a life that is nothing better than a 'long lingering death-bed.' He tilted against everything taken for granted—whether in morals, or science, or art, or in conduct. Reputations enraged him because they are usually mausoleums—and very few of his august contemporaries escaped his hail of 'bricks.' 'Agreeable' ideas were his aversion because they are usually moribund, and only a vigorous shaking and-somersault can reanimate them. He kept his eyes wide open, but dearly enjoyed a peep out of the corner. He loved the wrong side of a fact or a theory—where the quality and workmanship are most evident. His mind was sanctuary to forlorn causes. He not only adopted them but fathered them, and in his company they ceased to be forlorn. His was an inveterately questioning mind—the mind that is not so much seeking for answers as for fresh questions. Butler pursued truth, though 'its pursuit is chimerical.' And though there is no permanent, absolutely unchangeable truth, there are countless vivifying and astonishing points of view. Truth, he thought, should be 'played pretty low down.' 'Pit-truth is more true to the stalls than stall-truth to the pit,' while a little bit of absolute truth might 'dissipate the universe.' So Butler sat in the pit and enjoyed both his company and the privilege of expressing his real opinion about the great play, the rest of the audience, and the actors—tragic or farcical—who were doing their best.

He never himself wanted, or at least never attempted, to 'bring down the house.' His 'Note Books' were not actually intended for publication, though he hoped that a few friends might perhaps turn them over at leisure; possibly that the few might prove many and not exclude the worthiest of his foes. They gradually became a well-stocked aquarium of thoughts and whims and fantasies which now and then supplied the readers of his books with an appetising if peculiar dish. Ideas little and great, grave and jocose were confided to them. He wrote first to please himself, and then perhaps to

shock a ghostly Mrs. Grundy, or Professor Dryasdust, or Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, peering over his shoulder. His egotism is more obvious than real, though it is real enough. 'He is 'a poor creature who does not believe himself better than the 'whole world else.' But a sense of humour suffices 'to keep 'a man from all sins except those worth committing': and Butler's humour plays everywhere—nowhere more lightly and luminously than over his deepest gravity.

Thoughts after all are as much secretions of feeling as of mind. And though Butler's thoughts for the most part resemble cold steel, he often uses his victim 'an if he loved him.' A sudden warmth and kindness at times kindles his words, and imagination, born as it were of his passion for 'common simple straight-forwardness,' here and there lifts his prose into a region not far removed from that of poetry. That a poet indeed he was—and one disdaining verse—is proved by the last few pages of this volume.

But the 'Note Books' defy summary or analysis, crammed as they are with speculation and wisdom, irony, satire, pranks, quips, and stories. Any page will set the wits to work, amuse, arrest, provoke. Now and then their *obiter dicta* will test even a strong stomach. The shut mind had better approach warily. To Mr. Festing Jones their manageableness and much of their charm and value are due. His index is not less invaluable than the arrangement of his superabundant material—this mute quizzical setting side by side of apparently contradictory extravagancies, each illuminating each. Some of the notes, indeed, had Butler's editor for origin: 'Jones said he 'had not much conscience, and what little he had was guilty.' If only a like small and guilty conscience might inspire every editor! As Bacon said: 'You may take *Sarza* to open the 'Liver; *Steele* to open the Spleene; *Flowers of Sulphur* for the 'Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Braine; but no Receipt openeth the 'Heart, but a true Frend; To whom you may impart Griefes, 'Joyes, Feares, Hopes, Suspitions, Counsels, and whatsoever 'lieth upon the Heart, to oppresse it, in a kind of Civill Shrift 'or Confession.' *Sarza*, steel, sulphur, castoreum, all are here; here, too, the true friend that has done so much to ensure Butler's 'only true' immortality, and that of a duration far exceeding his own hope—a good average three score years 'and ten.'

WALTER DE LA MARE.

THE BALKAN MAIN CURRENT.

1. *Servia of the Servians.* By CHEDO MIJATOVITCH. Pitmans. 1912.
2. *The Burden of the Balkans.* By M. E. DURHAM. New Edition. Nelson. 1912.
3. *Austria, Her People and their Home Lands.* By JAMES BAKER. John Lane. 1912.
4. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15th November 1912: 'Du Congrès de Berlin à la Confédération Balkanique.' By M. PINON.
5. *Turkey and its People.* By SIR EDWIN PEARS. Methuen. 1911.
6. *The Danger Zone of Europe.* By H. CHARLES WOODS. Fisher Unwin. 1911.
7. *Washed by Four Seas.* By H. CHARLES WOODS. Fisher Unwin. 1908.

THE problem of the Near East is no doubt difficult and thorny, but there is no lack of excellent guidance for the English reader. First and foremost is Sir Charles Eliot's masterpiece, 'Turkey in Europe,' with Mr. Brailsford's 'Macedonia,' also an achievement of a very high order; and then there are such volumes as those enumerated above, each of which makes a definite contribution towards an intelligent view of some part of the problem; and last but not least there is the admirable work done from day to day by the great English daily, weekly and monthly journals. Nevertheless a distinguished member of Parliament told me early in December that he never remembered a war which had attracted so little attention in the House of Commons. Members, he said, took no interest in it because they knew so little about the countries concerned—much less, he thought, than they knew about the Far East.

Yet few wars can offer so many lessons of value to the statesman, the diplomatist and the soldier; few can show more clearly the turn of the tide of history, and perhaps none in the last half-century is fraught with more immediate importance to Great Britain, not only as a European Power

but also as the owner of vast Mussulman dominions in Asia and Africa.

From the point of view of the world's history, the struggle now (30th December) temporarily arrested by an armistice is the last ripple of the wave set in motion by the success of the Japanese in their war against Russia. That wave rolled slowly over Asia, infusing the Asiatic as it went with the belief that he was, after all, able to meet the European on equal terms and beat him. That wave inspired the Turkish revolution of 1908 and the doctrinaires who ran it, but they, unfortunately for themselves, possessed *ni dieu, ni foi, ni loi*, and were totally incapable of inspiring, still less of practising, the virtues of Bushido. Had they succeeded, a new movement might have been started which would have produced strange echoes all over the Mussulman world, in India, in Egypt, and through Africa from Morocco to Zanzibar.

From the point of view of Europe, the lessons are so numerous that it is necessary to select the most important, namely the rise of the most down-trodden of the Slav populations, and the repercussion which the freedom of Turkish Macedonia is likely to have on what the 'Novoye Vremya' calls the Macedonia of Austria, and on similar districts in Hungary and Germany.

The Serbs of Croatia, the Slovaks of North Hungary, the Ruthenians of Galicia, and the German Poles, though happier in many respects than their kinsmen in Turkey, have each their burning grievances, and all of them will be fired by the spectacle of the work done by the Bulgarian, the Servian, and the Montenegrin, whom they have hitherto regarded with sympathy as backward branches of the family tree.

The present war is due in the first instance to the Turkish Macedonian problem. This problem is extremely difficult for Englishmen to understand, because in the modern world economic questions are by them believed to have taken the place of the religious, dynastic and national problems which have all played so great a part in the past. Englishmen forget that in the Near East, which, after all, begins at Vienna, there are many traces of the middle ages, while, when once we have passed the southern frontier of Hungary, we are face to face with many of those elements of primitive and oriental civilisation which defy calculation.

The first thing necessary for a study of the causes of the present situation is to take the maps of the nationalities and religions of Europe. A glance at the former shows that the Slav race is not only predominant in the Russian dominions, but stretches far into the German Empire. Far beyond the limits of German Poland, right up to the gates of Berlin, Slav populations are to be found; while the remains of Slav irruptions can be traced in Mecklenburg and Saxony. The German policy towards the Poles in the East has helped to drive the Poles out of their own country and to scatter them over the empire, but in especially large numbers in the industrial districts on the Rhine.

In the Dual Monarchy the position is even more striking, for the Dual Monarchy consists of three strata. In the north, the Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, the Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia, and the Slovaks, both of Austria and North Hungary, form a solid and continuous wall. Next, if a line is drawn from the Tirol to the Roumanian frontier, there will be found first Germans, then Hungarians, and then Roumanians; while below them there is the solid mass of the South Slav populations, Slovenians, Croatians and Servians, conterminous with the Slav populations beyond the frontier which form a phalanx through Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria, Macedonia and Thrace. Finally, the Roumanian population of Hungary is next door to the flourishing kingdom ruled by King Charles at Bucharest. In fact the Teuton and the Magyar are between the upper and nether millstone.

The religious map of Europe is not quite so threatening for Teutonic and Magyar civilisation, for the northern Slavs are largely Roman Catholics while the southern Slavs are, generally speaking, adherents of the Greek Church. Nevertheless some of the bitterest religious grievances in Europe, as recently shown by Mr. Birkbeck in the columns of the 'Times,' are those of the three and a half millions of Ruthenians or Little Russians in Galicia, who are being persecuted by their Slav brethren of the Roman Catholic Church.*

In the Balkans, hitherto neither race nor religion has been a means of unity. Servians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians,

* Cp. also 'Religious Persecution in Galicia,' by W. T. Birkbeck, published by G. Berridge & Co.

Roumanians and other races have lived side by side in fear and hatred of each other.

Here the first thing to learn is that nationality is not immutable but changes often with conviction. In a sense, writes Sir Charles Eliot, a race is merely a political party, but it may perhaps be better defined as a body of people with a common language and customs, and generally with a common religion. Mr. Brailsford relates with what astonishment he found on his first visit to Macedonia a Bulgarian village which four years before had been Greek.

Broadly speaking the religious classification in the Balkans is Christian and Mohammedan, but the Christians are split up into various parties, each following its own propaganda—Bulgarian or Servian, Roumanian or Greek. The greater part of the Peninsula belongs to the Orthodox Church ; but this implied unity is fictitious, since that Church is but a loose federation consisting of thirteen separate and independent Churches, and almost every Balkan State adheres to a Church of its own. There is the Church of the Kingdom of Greece, the Roumanian Church, the Servian, the Montenegrin, and the Bulgarian. Although these Churches are separate, they differ in no respect as regards doctrine or ritual. The Bulgarian Church, established in 1870 and confirmed in 1872, has this important characteristic, that it includes Bulgarians outside the territorial limits of what is now Bulgaria ; while the other Greek religious communities in Turkey until 1900 were all included under the rule of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. In this sense 1870, or 1872, is the most important date for the Macedonian Slavs, for it gave the Bulgaria of the Berlin Congress a definite hold on the Bulgarians of Macedonia. Christianity in the Balkans has been in fact a mental uniform in which conflicting nations have marched in a long and doubtful warfare. The mission of the Church has been patriotic rather than spiritual ; but with all its shortcomings the Church has been the one solace, the one ideal element, in the life of the Balkan peasant. If it has failed to infuse energy and spread light, if it has grown lax and its clergy degraded, it has been for its adherents, as Mr. Brailsford says, the one link with the past, the sole care that goes beyond food and raiment, and it has formed the strongest bond between *them* and their Orthodox brethren in Russia. The Macedonian

peasant, like the peasant of the Volga, has a haunting belief in the constant presence of God and in a glorious legion of saints, sometimes visible but always active.

Oddly enough the first Pan-Slavist was a Southern Slav, Krijanitch, a Croatian of the seventeenth century, who preached the union of all Slav peoples 'under the very gentle and very 'illustrious Lord of Russia.' Gaj, in the nineteenth century, compared Southern Slavia to a triangular lyre of which the points are Scutari, Villach and Varna. Styria and Carinthia, Carniola, Croatia, Slavonia, Montenegro, Herzegovina, Servia, Bulgaria, and Southern Hungary, he likened to the broken strings which must be stretched afresh so that the instrument may again give forth melody. But it must be remembered that Pan-Slavism within the Austrian Monarchy is only a pretext for the advance of the Slav nationalities, economically, politically, and, last but not least, socially. It is in fact rather a means of extorting concessions from the Government than a serious project of disruption. Outside the Monarchy it has been a political programme, but as far as the Balkans go Sir William White's words, written in 1885, hold good. 'These 'newly emancipated races want to breathe free air and not 'through Russian nostrils.' What is more, they have an interesting and chequered but not altogether inglorious past.

In the middle ages a temporary ascendancy over the greater part of the Balkan peninsula was gained, first by Bulgaria under its Tsars Simeon (893-927) and Ivan Asen II. (1218-1241), and then by Servia under Dushan (1331-1355). But feuds and a feeble ruler gave the Turk his opportunity. The battle of Kossovo in 1389 practically annihilated the Servian power, and the Turkish conquest became merely a question of time. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Turks not only conquered the Byzantine empire and the Slavonic peoples of the Balkans, but they spread through Hungary and South Russia, reaching in the seventeenth century to the very gates of Vienna. From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards the entire Servian nation, with the exception of a handful of Montenegrin mountaineers, was subject to the tyranny of the Turk. The people were transformed into rayahs and as conquered infidels were at the mercy of the Turkish landlords, Turkish officials, and Turkish warriors. The Bulgarian nation

meanwhile was practically obliterated by four centuries of the same tyranny, for Bulgaria was the highway to Austria and Russia, and through it the Turkish army swept like a blight during the continual wars with these two Powers.

After the establishment of the Turkish domination, all national life was confined to one phase, the ecclesiastical. The Church was the one form of association which was not treasonable, and Church Synods the only kind of local self-government allowed by law. At first the Church enjoyed greater power than ever before owing to the Turkish fear of the power of Rome. The Greek Church was placed under a Patriarch, who was head both of the Church and the tributary community, with power to settle all disputes between Christians in which no Moslem was concerned. But as soon as a juster estimate was formed of the position of the Pope, the patriarchal chair was openly sold, the Church became corrupt and even helped the Moslem ruler to oppress the Christian community.

In 1683 the Turks sustained their great defeat before Vienna, and the tide of their power began to ebb. As their military strength declined, being then, as they are to this day, merely a predatory and nomadic tribe, they felt the need of diplomacy, and the Phanariots, who lived in a quarter of Constantinople, called Phanar, on the Golden Horn—in other words the Greek aristocracy—were used as interpreters and go-betweens. By the middle of the eighteenth century Christian Turkey was in the hands of the Greeks whose object was to Hellenise the Christian races of the Ottoman empire. Thus these unfortunate people had to submit to a double yoke, Turkish and Greek. The Phanariot administration was bad, for the Phanariots were both tyrannical and venal; but they unconsciously conferred a great benefit on the oppressed races by diffusing culture and thus arousing first national genius and then national rivalry.

The nineteenth century was signalised by revolt. The unity and power of action which the Church, with all its faults, had kept alive were strengthened by the growth of national consciousness and by the inspiration of the literary movement which heralded each national uprising. The schoolmaster went hand in hand with the insurgent chief, and the functions of the two were often combined in the same individual. Another factor in the movement of liberation was the intervention of

the Powers of Europe at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Whether the 'historic mission' of Russia dated from the days of Peter the Great or not, it became an active policy in the reign of Catherine II. and Russian agents were employed to stir up the Greeks against the Turks. In 1774, on the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish war, a new principle was introduced into the relations of Turkey with Europe by the Treaty of Kainardji, which in effect gave Russia a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan by providing that the Russian Ambassador might interfere in the interests of the rayahs.

Owing to these various causes the liberation movement in the Balkans proceeded rapidly during the nineteenth century, while at the same time the growth of national consciousness spread with even greater speed in the South Slavonic races in Austria-Hungary. The nation (*narod*) was held to embrace not only the Balkans but the brethren in Austria too. The poet Gaj has already been mentioned, but another writer, Niksa Marko Gradi, who died at Ragusa* in 1894 held that the Dalmatians were but an element of the nation which is composed of the Serbs, the Croats, the Bulgarians and the Slovenes who live scattered in the small Balkan States and in the Empire of the Hapsburg. There has long been a movement in Austria, of which the Slovene riots at Laibach in 1908 and the agitation in Croatia (which culminated in the treason trials of 1909) were a part, for the reconstitution of the empire into a triune state, consisting of Austria, Hungary and Southern Slavia. In the decisive struggle with the Magyars, which such a revolution would involve, Croatia holds the key. Lying just north of Bosnia and stretching nearly from Trieste to Belgrade, with a population racially identical with that of Servia, Croatia is like a long arm threatening, as in 1848, to strike the Magyars in the back. The strength of the agitation was no doubt much exaggerated, but it was sufficient to convince the Hungarian Government of the necessity of the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina in 1908. There are rumours of a very strong movement in Dalmatia on the same lines in the last few months. It is even said that important municipalities like

* Mr.[†] Baker in his book gives some charming pictures of this romantic city.

those of Spalato and Sebenico have been dissolved by the Government because of action taken in connexion with the war in the Balkans.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the triangle of land now known as Servia, which of course only contains a fraction of the Servian race together with a small proportion of Bulgarians, won back its freedom under Milosh Obrenovitch, who was proclaimed prince in 1817. Throughout the nineteenth century the principality had a chequered history, at one time enlisting European sympathy, at another exciting European disgust by the sordid intrigues and bloody political changes, chiefly connected with the contending dynasties of Kara George and Michael Obrenovitch. At the Berlin Congress in 1878 the Servian State was declared independent, and in 1882 the principality became a kingdom but with a history no more tranquil or less squalid. In 1903 Europe was horrified by the brutal assassination in revolting circumstances of King Alexander Obrenovitch and his Queen to make room for Peter Karageorgevitch who, after a decorous interval, was recognised by all the Powers.

The country has, in spite of internal disturbance, benefited by her independence, and presents a great contrast to the neighbouring Turkish provinces ; for while Servia as a State was earning the contempt of the civilised world, the Servian peasant sowed in hope and reaped in peace. The great difficulty of the Servians has been the political and economical blockade organised by Austria-Hungary since 1878 with the object of preventing the natural outlet of Servian commerce to the sea. When Baron Aerenthal became Foreign Minister at Vienna he broke up the commercial treaty contracted between Servia and Bulgaria who had agreed to forget the battle of Slivnitza. A further blow was inflicted by the annexation in 1908 of Bosnia, to which Servia, being unsupported by Russia, had eventually to agree in 1909. But the annexation was to some extent compensated by the withdrawal of Austrian troops from the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar, which rendered a combination of Servia with Montenegro possible. In estimating the value of this branch of the Slavonic race it is always necessary to distinguish between the somewhat neurotic Servians of Belgrade and their more stolid brethren of the country districts. The latter were always, in the opinion of competent critics, good

material for soldiers, as indeed they have proved themselves in the present war.

A great deal has been said and written about the iniquities of the Turkish Government in regard to its obligations, but one can hardly exaggerate, as Mr. Brailsford says, the sense of degradation and injustice which the self-seeking of Europe creates in the Turkish mind. Again and again solemn obligations have been entered into by the European Powers, both for themselves and for the Balkan States, which have been callously broken. The action of Russia with regard to Batoum in 1886; the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908; the action of Italy in Tripoli in 1911, are cases in point; but, as the Spanish proverb has it, when the Abbot has a good voice the Novice also learns to sing, and the minor States are in no way backward. Under Article 42 of the Berlin Treaty, Servia was called upon to bear a portion of the Ottoman public debt on account of the new territories assigned to her under the treaty; the representatives of the Powers at Constantinople were to fix the amount in concert with the Sublime Porte on an equitable basis, but no settlement has ever been arrived at, and no payment has ever been made. Article 33 made similar provisions for Montenegro which again have not been carried out. Under Article 9, Bulgaria in 1909 owed a sum then capitalised by the Director-General of the Ottoman Bank at £7,200,000, of which not a penny had been paid. This is in addition to the annual tribute of £120,000 a year for Roumelia, which was fitfully paid up to 1908, and was included in the arrangement made between Bulgaria, Turkey and Russia in 1909. Article 44 of the same treaty provided that the Jews, whose treatment in Roumania had long been a scandal, should be allowed naturalisation and other privileges, but although a law was passed removing the disabilities it has remained a dead letter.

Montenegro, although perhaps not more scrupulous than other Balkan States in the matter of treaty obligations, has not only always maintained her own liberty, but has always been devoted to the Slav ideal and the union of the Serb-race. This devotion has naturally brought her into conflict more than once with Austria, who till the evacuation of Novi-Bazar held Montenegro as in a vice, surrounding her on three sides with Austrian territory and on the fourth with Austrian

influence. This little country is a huge natural fortress, in which a small army is defeated and a large one starves ; but its alliances by marriage with the royal families of Russia and Italy have always protected it from the results which less fortunate States would have incurred for rash and sometimes foolhardy action.

The Prussia, however, of the Balkan alliance, is to be found in the Bulgarian nation, which a hundred years ago had almost been forgotten by Europe. It seemed that the Turkish domination had all but crushed the national spirit and that the national consciousness was extinct. Nevertheless although the first Bulgarian school was only founded in 1835—at Gabrova—within ten years fifty-three such institutions were in existence and the educational movement had taken firm hold. Then followed the revolt against Greek ascendancy, and against the spiritual authority of the Patriarch at Constantinople. This revolt culminated in the issue by the Porte of the firman of the 28th of February 1870, confirmed in 1872, by which the Exarch, or head of the Bulgarian Church, was instituted and allowed to appoint bishops and clergy, and in fact to form a religious community, or millet, on the same footing as the Greeks. Six years later came the ill-fated insurrection of 1876, followed by the infamous Bulgarian atrocities, of which Sir Edwin Pears gives a graphic account, and leading to the espousal of the Bulgarian cause by Europe.

The Bulgarians of Bulgaria and the Bulgarians of Macedonia rarely make a favourable impression at first. They are, as many travellers have said, dull, reserved and unfriendly, without either the plausible grace and quick intelligence of the Greek or the dignified courtesy and defiant independence of the Albanian. Even the women are unprepossessing. The nation has no sense for externals, the national costumes are rarely picturesque, the national dances and the national songs are monotonous. The race was not originally Slav, in fact is probably akin to the Finns, but has been completely Slavised, and all the ties of language and religion connect the Bulgarians with the Slavs and not with the Turks. To their mixed origin the Bulgarians doubtless owe the qualities which inspire strangers with respect, in spite of their flat noses and ungainly appearance, namely industry and a vast

capacity for uninteresting work. Their vices are the mean habits of the down-trodden, and the more one learns of them, the more one is filled with a kindly pity, the more one understands their indignation against their oppressor.

The Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, which followed the Russo-Turkish war, would have given the Bulgarians three-fifths of the whole peninsula and a population of 4,000,000. Unfortunately the Great Powers intervened, wrongly fearing that the big Bulgaria would become a Russian dependency. England took the lead in the negotiations which restored the vilayet of Adrianople and almost the whole of Macedonia to Turkish rule. Eastern Roumelia was placed under a separate Constitution. In 1879 Prince Alexander of Battenberg was elected Prince of Bulgaria. In 1885 the bloodless revolution at Philippopolis took place, and the Union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia was proclaimed. The opposition of Servia was overcome by the battle of Slivnitza, and but for Austrian intervention the Bulgarian army would have dictated terms at Belgrade. The following summer, however, Prince Alexander was kidnapped by Philo-Russian conspirators with the connivance of the Russian Government, forced to abdicate, and transported to Russian territory. Stambouloff, the President of the Bulgarian Assembly, organised a counter-revolution, but Prince Alexander, though he returned to Bulgaria, decided to abdicate. After an interregnum, in which the Bulgarian statesmen who acted as regents showed infinite courage and resource, Prince Ferdinand was elected to the throne in 1887. Stambouloff carried on the Government till 1894, when he was dismissed by Prince Ferdinand, who had decided to conciliate Russia, and the following year he was assassinated in the streets of Sofia under circumstances which have never been cleared up. In 1896 Prince Boris, the heir-apparent, was converted to the Orthodox Greek faith, and shortly afterwards Prince Ferdinand received investiture from the Sultan and recognition from the Powers. From that time onwards Bulgaria has never looked back, and in 1908 Prince Ferdinand proclaimed his independence, and took the title of King of Bulgaria, and in 1909 that of King of the Bulgarians, thereby making a claim to the fealty of Bulgarians beyond the limits of his kingdom.

Travelling from Servia to Bulgaria one cannot help con-

trasting the Serb inhabitant of Belgrade, if not of the country districts, with the average Bulgarian. The former is a talker and lounger ; the latter a doer and worker. Belgrade is sleepy and sordid ; while Sofia is bustling and progressive. Bulgaria has prospered greatly in commerce, agriculture and manufacture as well as in education and literature ; while in military matters, as the world now knows, there have been enormous strides. Public works have been instituted on a large scale and the country has been covered with a net-work of railways. Wealth has been increased ; order has been maintained. Rural credit has been fostered by agricultural banks ; stock has been improved ; re-forestation has been taken in hand. In short, owing to the determined perseverance of this virile race Bulgaria is almost a model State.

Naturally, in Bulgaria, sympathy with the Macedonian Bulgarian has been fanned. Naturally, the Hellenised Bulgars to the South took the first opportunity to shake off the shackles of Hellenism, and declare their adhesion to the kindred State ; and in this they received every encouragement from the Church of the Exarchate which was really occupied in creating Bulgarians by its services and schools.

Naturally, also, the Bulgarian propaganda succeeded in districts where the population was largely Servian. Thus, when the Macedonian insurrection of 1903, which had been more than ten years in preparation, broke out, the Bulgarian people were deeply stirred, and were not likely to forget the extraordinary brutality with which the movement was put down. In 1903 the army was reorganised to a great extent on the Russian model. The reserve service was extended from eight to eighteen years in the infantry, and to sixteen years in the other arms, the longest period of service in Europe. There was only one object which could inspire such a force, the liberation of their brethren in Macedonia. The religious services and the blessing of entire regiments by the priests at the commencement of the present war recalled incidents in the Russo-Turkish campaigns of 1877, and would naturally evoke an echo throughout the dominions of the Tsar, only comprehensible to those in touch with Russian public opinion, which is now a far more powerful organ than it was when it forced Alexander II into war against his will.

A word must be said in passing as to Roumania, which

is sometimes not reckoned as a Balkan State because separated by the Danube from the Balkan peninsula, and because her people speak a different tongue, and are more akin to the inhabitants of South-western Hungary, where 3,000,000 of their brethren in race and religion live under the Magyar yoke ; but her position and her history justify her claim to a place in Balkan politics. In the middle of the nineteenth century the present kingdom of Roumania was represented by two separate provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, which were under the suzerainty of Turkey and the protection of Russia. One of the main results of the Crimean war was that the principalities were placed under the collective guarantee of the Powers. For many years Austria had opposed the union of the two provinces, fearing a second Piedmont on her Transylvanian frontier. But in 1859 Prince Couza was simultaneously elected prince by both principalities, and in 1861 the union of the principalities was recognised by the Powers for the prince's lifetime ; Prince Couza abdicated in 1866, and Prince Charles of Hohenzollern was elected his successor after a plebiscitum, in which 685,969 voted for him and 224 against.

The Roumanians claim descent from the Roman soldiers who garrisoned Dacia, and in consequence of this traditional belief the Franco-German war caused a rebellion—a storm, the after-effects of which the French defeat and the prince's personal popularity enabled him to weather.

During the Russo-Turkish war the gallantry of the Roumanian army at Plevna and elsewhere made good Roumania's claim to special recognition at Berlin, and though Russian gratitude took the form of annexing Bessarabia and giving the Turkish Dobrudscha in its place, the Austro-Hungarian representative, Count Andrassy, successfully advocated the cause of Roumanian independence.

Almost half a century has elapsed since the election of Charles of Hohenzollern, and in that time the semi-civilised nation has been transformed into a modern State, the first in South-eastern Europe in regard to its administration, organisation and commercial importance. Bucharest has grown into a little Paris with some Parisian vices, a go-ahead city where everyone lives above his income. In general, however, the finance and commerce of the country are in a sound progressive state. The worst feature of the country is the neglected

state of the peasantry. According to the census returns of 1899, 78 per cent., and in 1909 60 per cent., of the population over seven years of age could neither read nor write. The treatment of the Jews has already been referred to, and there is no doubt that the Jewish disabilities are a breach of solemn obligations undertaken at Berlin. The only excuse—if it be an excuse—that can be made is that there are in Roumania a larger number of this race in proportion to the total population than in any other country in the world, and that it is feared that if Jews received civil and political rights they would become masters of the whole soil. They already monopolise most of the retail trade. In this connexion it is necessary to mention the terrible agrarian revolt of 1907 which arose from the tyranny and exaction of certain middlemen and farmers—mostly German Jews—and was accompanied by the murder, torture, and mutilation of large numbers of Jews.

Roumania has been careful now, as in 1909, to maintain an independent position. In a Circular Note issued in that year the Roumanian Government stated 'There is not now, and never has been, an understanding with Austria-Hungary or any other Power. Roumania is absolutely free and will always judge the situation according to her own interests, only defending them if attacked.' The leader of the Conservative Opposition went further and said that a rectification of the Dobrudscha frontier would go a great way to satisfy public feeling; that Roumania must claim the right of erecting fortifications on the Danube: that she must further ask Austria-Hungary to renounce the provisions of the London Convention; that she could not admit the representatives of Servia and Bulgaria to the Danube Commission; and finally, that she ought to obtain the right of passage of the Dardanelles for her navy. With regard to this last point, it is improbable that Russia will raise the question of the Dardanelles till she has built her navy; but Roumania will no doubt put this and other matters forward as soon as an opportunity offers.

Roumania's interest in Macedonia has been excited by the kinship claimed by the Kutzo-Vlachs, a small body of timid shepherds living in the mountains of Macedonia. When Macedonia became the battlefield of nationalist propaganda,

and when Greeks were being proved to be Bulgarians and Bulgarians to be Servians, Vlach schools were established in Monastir, and an agitation set on foot for the appointment of a bishop. The inspiration of the movement, however, came from the Porte, which, having proved an adept in playing off the Great Powers against one another, under the late Sultan, showed equal ability in manipulating the rivalry of the different nationalities. It is a significant comment on the boast of the strength of Hellenism made by M. Theotokis on the 24th of March 1908 that this Hellenised people after the Greco-Turkish war asked to be put under Turkish rather than Greek rule. This shows, as Sir Charles Eliot says, that Christians without political aims and ambitions could be happy under Turkish rule, though remaining steadfast adherents of the Orthodox faith.

The wild Turkish province of Albania includes the vilayets of Scutari, Janina, and part of Monastir. The Albanians, a definitely non-Slav and relatively aboriginal race, are divided into two principal tribes, the Ghegs of Northern and the Tosks of Southern Albania. Of the Northern Albanians some 60 per cent. are Mohammedans. Central Albania is almost entirely Moslem. In Southern Albania there is a considerable Christian population whose limits coincide with the Greek-speaking districts. In all there are about 480,000 Christians, of whom about 100,000 are Roman Catholics, almost all of them belonging to the Gheg tribes of the North; the remainder are of the Orthodox Church. Out of a total population of 1,600,000 about 1,200,000 are Albanians, 250,000 Serbs or Bulgars, about 100,000 Greeks, and the balance Vlachs.

The Albanians aspire, it is said, to become an independent State, but family feuds and religious differences are the cause or excuse for incessant fighting. The average number of assassinations in Scutari is said to be three per day. Agriculture, manufactures, trade, art and literature are all neglected. For the Turks Albania has been till recently a disaffected but excellent recruiting ground. The greatest mistake of the Young Turk was to quarrel with the Albanians. No interest has been shown either by the Government or the inhabitants in education. The telephone and the electric light are, I believe, still forbidden at Scutari, and till recently neither books nor

newspapers were allowed to enter the country. Meanwhile it has long been a nest of Italian and Austrian intrigue. The ground for the Italian interest, apart from the naval questions raised by the harbours of Durazzo and Vallona, is the presence of 154,000 Albanian emigrants in Southern Italy and 52,000 in Sicily. The Austrian interest is purely political, the influence of Austrian commerce having to a great extent given way to that of Italy.

Though the Albanians are savages of so merciless a character that a current proverb runs: 'Don't despair, God is not an Albanian,' yet the Ghegs are simple, brave, faithful men, and the Tosks possess the same virtues, modified by their contact with the Greeks and Vlachs.

The early enthusiasm of Albania for the Constitution of the Young Turks soon expired when the Moslems found that it meant equality with the Christians, and the Christians found it could not protect them from the Moslems. Indeed Miss Durham is of opinion that only by a military force and a strong hand will it be possible to maintain peace.

Till the recent war showed them in a new light, no one who knew the Balkans would have attached much importance to the Greeks, who were thoroughly discredited by their past conduct, but most of all by their behaviour in the war with Turkey in 1897. Greece, malaria-haunted and uncultivated, inhabited by an idle, talkative, light-hearted people, has hitherto been a land of politics and democracy, swarming with doctors without patients and barristers without briefs. Its agriculture has been neglected, its finances wasted, and the army has been proved inefficient again and again. However, the arrival of M. Venezelos appears to have effected great financial and military reforms, and the future may have other surprises in store. In Macedonia the Greeks are to be found along with the Turks in the towns, but rarely in the country districts. In Macedonia at any rate the type of Greek does not differ much in appearance from the type of Slav. Language is the only test. As to blood, it is clear from the history alike of Greece herself, and still more of Macedonia, that the modern Greek is of a very mixed race. Roughly speaking the Greeks congregate in the towns of Macedonia and Thrace and along the sea coasts. In Salonika they are enormously outnumbered by the Spanish Jews, of whom there are 80,000, and who form the majority

of the population. Their importance in Macedonia is chiefly due to the power long exercised by the Ecumenical Patriarch and the recognised Greek Church, to the tradition of the Phanar, and their own commercial skill and native adroitness.

Hitherto, at any rate, the career of the Greek State, with its political convulsions and constitutional experiments, has not been a success, either on the mainland or in the islands. As far as Corfu is concerned, its administration shows how little Greek ambitions are justified, though no doubt the Government is better than that of Turkey. The occupation by Italy of many islands in the Aegean during the war with Turkey, and the capture of others by the Greek fleet, will give an additional interest to the negotiations at the end of the war. But as far as Macedonia is concerned the Greeks are merely one, and not even the strongest, of the political parties; while as to representing Christianity, the Greek bands of brigands have not lagged far behind the Bulgarian in savagery.

When the history of Turkey in Europe comes finally to be written, it will be a chapter of shame to the Great Powers, at any rate since the year 1878. There have been three phases in the attitude of the European Powers. The first a period of fear, which ended in the defeat of the Ottomans at Vienna in 1683; next the period of the reconquest of Christian lands and the gradual retreat of the Ottoman invader; and last, the period of intervention in the internal affairs of European Turkey which commenced with the Treaty of Kainardji in 1774.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century Russia, backed by the other Powers, took a foremost part in assisting the movement of freedom which sprang up among the Balkans, and in this she represented the traditions, religious and historical, of her people. But for the greater part of the nineteenth century she was opposed by England, whose policy has always been to resist the great preponderance of any one Power, for behind Russian philanthropy lay Russia's desire for territorial and political expansion, which threatened the route to India. Till the revolution and the commencement of parliamentary government in Russia this English distrust of the Russian bureaucracy continued, and the ideal of the Russian people of freeing their Slavonic brethren from the unbeliever

was considered a cloak to a far more ambitious design. The Balkan peoples were, it was thought, likely to prove mere catspaws.

Far-seeing men like Sir William White recognised long ago the necessity of a change in this policy. Writing in 1885 to Sir Robert Morier, then British ambassador at St. Petersburg, he said :

‘The future European Turkey, to Adrianople at any rate, must sooner or later belong to Christian races. . . . We have always been accused by Russia and her agents in the East of being the chief obstacle to the emancipation of Christian races in Turkey. The reasons for a particular line of policy on our part have ceased to exist and we are free to act impartially and take up gradually with proper restraints the line which made Palmerston famous in regard to Belgium, Italy, &c. The Russians have made sacrifices to liberate Greece, Servia and the Principalities. But they have lost all their influence in Greece, Servia and Rumania. Montenegro alone remains faithful. They are now about to lose the Bulgarians. . . . These newly emancipated races want to breathe free air and not through Russian nostrils. . . . I feel of course that all these things may have a *contrecoup* in Asia, but we cannot shape our course in Europe by purely Asiatic considerations. Of course our great interests are there, but we still have a European position and even European interests.’

Unfortunately these views were not heartily adopted by the British Government.

The Berlin Treaty of 1878 placed the Balkan problem on a new footing, but its cardinal defect was the inadequate protection afforded for the Christians in the Macedonian and Aegean provinces which were left under Turkish control. On paper the provisions were abundant. In particular, Clause 23 of that Treaty provided for the institution of local commissions which were to elaborate statutes for the future government of these districts. But though local commissions were appointed and statutes were drafted they were never put into force. The Sultan played the Powers off one against another, and the successes of the Turkish army in 1897 against Greece made the Porte less amenable. The Bulgarian Insurgent Committee, first founded in 1895, was merely an organised form of brigandage with patriotic objects, and the agreement of Russia and Austria in 1898 was dictated by a fear of the results of this new movement. The policy of these two Powers,

to whom their European colleagues in 1903 delegated their own duties and obligations under the Treaty of Berlin, appeared to be that of presenting ineffective schemes of reform to keep the sores open. In 1902 insurrection again called attention to the Balkans, and the Sultan, as usual in the hope of averting intervention, promulgated his own scheme of reform. The scheme propounded by Austria and Russia in 1903 was an amplification of the Sultan's programme of December 1902. Hilmi Pasha was to be Inspector-General, and under him financial and judicial reforms, as well as a new system of gendarmerie, were to be introduced at the vilayets of Monastir, Kossovo and Salonika, which constitute Macedonia as the Porte knows it. These reforms were a failure, and the insurrection of 1903 broke out. In consequence of this the Tsar and the Emperor of Austria met at Muerzteg in September of that year and a new scheme was promulgated which came into operation in April 1904. This also was a failure, for, as Lord Lansdowne observed in a despatch to Sir F. Plunket, our Ambassador at Vienna: 'The instructions were absolutely silent upon the question of finance, which seemed to me to be at the root of all Macedonian reform.'

Fresh proposals were put forward by Lord Lansdowne in 1905, and in December 1905 an International Financial Commission, which also proved a failure, was erected. Matters continued to go from bad to worse in 1906, 1907, and down to July 1908. The savage activity of Bulgarian and Servian bands became more and more serious. Early in January 1908, Sir Edward Grey and M. Isvolsky made further proposals, of which Sir Edward's were so drastic that they probably precipitated the revolt of the Young Turks.

At first this movement seemed likely to combine all parties and creeds, in spite of the profound mistrust with which the doctrinaire character of the Young Turk leaders had always inspired foreign observers as skilled as Sir Charles Eliot. The mysterious Committee of Union and Progress compelled the proclamation of the Constitution and of the convocation of Parliament, under the old scheme of 1876, in Macedonia on the 23rd of July, the day before the Sultan's decision was announced in Constantinople. The end of the despotism of Abdul Asiz, who had, by a system of organised delation at home and astute diplomacy abroad, raised himself to a height of temporal and

spiritual power never exceeded by his greatest predecessor, was universally welcomed, and at first a veritable peace of God descended on Macedonia.

The first blow to the new régime was the proclamation of the independence of Bulgaria and the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and before the end of the year fresh outbreaks occurred on the part of the bands in Macedonia. An attempt by the Mahommedan League, early in 1909, probably with the knowledge of the Sultan, to overthrow the Constitution led to the occupation of the capital by the Young Turks, the deposition of the Sultan, and the proclamation of the Sultan's brother, Reshed, as Mahommed V.

The events of the last three years, of which M. Pinon gives an admirable summary, are well within the public memory. The crucial point has been the total failure of the Young Turks as legislators and administrators and the continued cynical disregard by the European Powers of their treaty obligations, of which the latest evidence is the Italian campaign in Tripoli. The Young Turks failed amongst other reasons because the modern Turkish Pasha is no longer the dignified, imperturbable, capable governor dear to novel readers, but a neurotic excitable member of a semi-educated proletariat living at the end of a telegraph wire on the instructions communicated from Constantinople, and because there were no national or religious traditions to fall back upon in the work of re-organising the national army. The re-organisation of the customs under Sir Richard Crawford is an object lesson of what might have been done. The Balkan League, with its watchword of the Balkans for the Balkan peoples, has become the only possible solution of the Balkan problem.

GEOFFREY DRAGE.

EUROPEAN RECONSTRUCTION AND BRITISH
POLICY.

1. *The History of British Foreign Policy.* By ARTHUR HASSALL, M.A., Wm. Blackwood and Sons. 1912.
2. *Common Sense in Foreign Policy.* By SIR HARRY JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B. Smith, Elder & Co. 1913.
3. *Germany and the Next War.* By GENERAL VON BERNHARDI. Edward Arnold. 1912.
4. *The Last Century in Europe.* By C. E. M. HAWKESWORTH, M.A. Edward Arnold. 1912.
5. *The Foundations of British Policy.* By J. A. SPENDER. Westminster Gazette Office. 1912.
6. *What Germany Wants.* By W. N. Willis. Stanley Paul and Co. 1912.
7. *The Enemies of England.* By the Hon. GEORGE PEEL. Edward Arnold. 1902.
8. *The Friends of England.* By the Hon. GEORGE PEEL. John Murray. 1905.

NATIONS, like individuals, spend much of their energy in guarding against imaginary evils. The Foreign Offices, as somebody has said, are always seeing ghosts; they are haunted by the shadowy shapes which have been for the most part conjured up by themselves. It is impossible to run through even a sketchy and superficial summary of international relations like Mr. Hassall's without being struck by this fact. The diplomatists seem to move through an atmosphere as insubstantial as that of the schoolmen. They people the void with the creatures of their dreams, the vague abstractions which are born of the rivalries of monarchs and ministers, the meditations of strategists, and the theories of lawyers, political philosophers, ethnologists and historians. The fine-spun web is elaborately woven from year to year until at length some crude and brutal reality, such as war or revolution, is thrust into it and speedily tears it into dishevelled tatters; while the artificers hang gloomily over the ruins, and then set to work to pick up the meshes and reconstruct the delicate fabric on some new and perhaps equally unstable foundation. Nor are they greatly disconcerted by the revelation that most

of their web-spinning has been futile and that many of their devices for anticipating the course of events have proved entirely useless or extremely inappropriate. Sometimes the very calamities against which they have been taking precautions are rather aggravated by these preventive measures. Sometimes it turns out that the reality so long dreaded is less dreadful than it appeared.

Such reflections are inevitably suggested by the campaign in the Balkans which has given to the year 1912 a very notable and significant place in European history. For years past the Chancelleries and the Foreign Offices have been possessed by the spectre of the Eastern question. An immense amount of industry, adroitness, and diplomatic resourcefulness has been expended in the effort to maintain the *status quo* in the territories and neighbour-lands of Turkey. The thought of that 'Macedonian rising in the spring' was an obsession to the statesmen of the Great Powers, on the assumption that if once hostilities began in the Balkans no one could ever predict where they would end. So many inconsistent ambitions and racial and national rivalries would be unchained that the Great Powers, one after another, would be dragged into the conflict, and Western civilisation might collapse amid the flames of a greater Thirty Years War. And it was under the pressure of these anxieties that the two groups of Powers got their machinery into action and tried their best to induce Turkey and the Balkan States to come to terms without the actual appeal to force.

Unsuccessful as their efforts have been, they have had some useful result. The attempt to revive the Concert of Europe, clumsy and maladroit as it seemed, was worth making. It has unquestionably brought certain of the Powers closer together and it has weakened the tendency to divide them into two permanent and mutually exclusive partnerships. Four years ago that very dangerous and undesirable situation had almost been created. It seemed as if it were possible for any member of the Triple Alliance, by setting up a quarrel with any member of the so-called 'Triple Entente,' to force the whole six Powers, with Roumania, into armed conflict. The crisis was almost reached in the summer of 1908, when Austria announced the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Russia's protest was quenched by a threat of war from Germany.

If the Russian Government had defied the menace and had called upon France for support, the European peril would have been grave. No such imminent risk has been run during the present transactions, chiefly because there has been much cross-action of the Powers, and the group arrangement has been treated with politic elasticity. The Triple Alliance has been renewed; the nominal engagements of the high contracting parties to one another remain the same. The German Chancellor and Foreign Secretary have taken the opportunity to inform the Reichstag that Germany is quite prepared to come to the assistance of Austria if her ally is attacked on two sides; and the relations between this country and France have undergone no formal change. But in fact there has been a new and beneficial *rapprochement* between the three Powers which are least directly affected by the Balkan changes. While those changes concern Austria and Russia intimately, and Italy only less closely, they can be viewed more calmly by Great Britain, France, and Germany, whose immediate interests are not touched by the re-partition of Ottoman territory or Turkish territory. Hence it has been possible for them to co-operate in damping down the ardour of their restive partners and generally working together to keep the conflagration within the bounds of safety. How far they have succeeded it is, at this time of writing, as yet impossible to say. But at least something has been achieved. Diplomacy, if it showed itself feeble and ineffective at the outset of the conflict, has exhibited commendable moderation and restraint during its course. The statesmen of Europe have declined to lose their heads over the business, and have shown a disposition to accept the startling changes produced by a few weeks of warfare much more tranquilly than might have been expected.

English diplomacy, it must be acknowledged with satisfaction, has been directed with firmness and judgment throughout the crisis. The fact that London was chosen as the meeting-place for the Peace Conference is a gratifying testimony to the salutary influence which Sir Edward Grey has established in the councils of Europe. He has occupied during the past few months a position which it is not too often given to a Foreign Minister to hold, that of mediator and moderator to the international States-system. Europe, like other heterogeneous and ill-organised associations of human beings

requires a leader and a guide, and its mutual relations tend to be more harmonious when there is some single commanding figure whose ascendancy is admitted by all. A Disraeli, a Bismarck, a Salisbury, a Palmerston, even a Metternich, is an element of stability amid the chaos of conflicting ambitions and uncertain aims. No such overpowering personality has dominated the European situation for many years past, and it would be too much to assert that Sir Edward Grey has suddenly ascended to that station; but it is unquestionable that, for the moment, he exercises an influence in international councils such as no other living statesman or ruler, neither the German Emperor, nor M. Poincaré, nor M. Sazonoff, holds. His long experience in office, for it must be remembered that Sir Edward Grey first took a responsible part in the direction of British foreign policy a quarter of a century ago, and the conviction that he represents the united sentiment of a great nation rather than that of any political party, add to the weight of his high character and his well-deserved reputation for firmness and caution. Amid the singular dearth of first-class statesmanship from which Europe at present suffers, Sir Edward Grey is better able to give a lead than any other diplomatist or minister now on the stage of affairs. His sagacious handling of a very difficult and perilous crisis has gone far to re-establish a reputation somewhat damaged abroad, and possibly also at home, by the Morocco *imbroglio* of the previous year.

It may be that his attitude was itself affected by the shock of that remarkable transaction. Undoubtedly the Morocco crisis of 1911 has had some beneficial effects. It caused, as has been said, 'a certain stock-taking in the national mind,' and compelled us to examine with some closeness, the proceedings and the methods of our own Foreign Office as well as those of our presumed allies and potential opponents; and it forced us to face certain prospects and possibilities which had not until then been quite definitely presented to us. In the midst of our preoccupation with our own affairs—Home Rule, Labour unrest, railway strikes, party squabbles—we turned with a start to find that we had narrowly escaped being involved in a war with the greatest military, and the second greatest naval, Power of the globe, and the disclosure forced us to reflect with deep anxiety and some

bewilderment on the change which had come over our relations with the Continental States during the preceding decade. Englishmen had to realise that the haughty isolation which their statesmen had maintained until the close of the nineteenth century had gone for good or ill. We found ourselves entangled in the labyrinth of European complications ; we appeared to be the members, if not the leaders, of one group of Continental Powers, and exposed to the suspicions, if not the hostility, of another. Twice at least, if not three times, had we found ourselves on the verge of war, in a quarrel in which no British interests were directly affected. Our strategists and ministers were understood to be canvassing the possibility of plunging the small force which constitutes our entire striking army amid the gigantic hosts of a campaign waged upon the continent of Europe. All these portentous contingencies had opened upon us unexpectedly, and the nation was suddenly compelled to direct its consciousness upon the meaning and consequences of those understandings which it had accepted with a kind of sentimental satisfaction and with little real appreciation of their significance and gravity. The revelation produced a steadying of public opinion which has had its reaction upon the Foreign Office.

Since the autumn of 1911, there have been some gratifying signs of a *rapprochement* between England and Germany. That this demonstration should be regarded with dissatisfaction elsewhere is not perhaps surprising. The idea that Great Britain could be relied upon to support the European policy of France and Russia is not one that could be lightly abandoned in Paris. There was a rather curious episode in the early days of October last when some of the French newspapers, which are commonly supposed to possess a good deal of official inspiration, were engaged in an attack upon the British Foreign Office for its alleged refusal to co-operate in putting pressure upon the Turkish Government to accept the demands of the Balkan States. It will be remembered that a draft embodying the necessary reforms had been drawn up for presentation to the Porte by M. Sazonoff and M. Poincaré, and it was freely alleged in Paris that hostilities had been precipitated by the refusal of the British Government to accept this note without substantial alterations. These assertions were groundless. It was stated at the time on good authority, and we have

reason to know that the statement is correct, that no alterations otherwise than those of an unimportant verbal character were suggested from Downing Street, and that if the French text was modified, this was due to action which originated in Vienna. But it was curious and rather significant that the unauthenticated rumour was made the occasion for a somewhat violent series of French newspaper attacks upon the Government and the people of this country. It was stated that England was still bolstering up an un-reformed Turkey, as Lord Beaconsfield was supposed to have done when he caused the Andrassy Note of 1876 to be rejected. The purpose of all this was not very difficult to discover; the French Foreign Office was anxious to co-operate with its Russian ally in averting a Balkan war, by compelling Turkey to yield to the demands of its Christian neighbours. It was imagined that in such an enterprise Great Britain would be bound to co-operate; and it may be imagined that some annoyance was felt when it was discovered that England had no intention of having her policy shaped for her by her two Continental friends, and that she was quite determined not to be involved in European entanglements in order to support them. It was shown that our obligations to France and Russia have much more definite and restricted limits than French and Russian opinion quite relished, and that some of the suspicions and vague alarms which were entertained in this country during the Morocco crisis were not warranted by the terms of our arrangements either with the Republic or with the Empire.

The strength of Sir Edward Grey's position during the recent transactions is largely due to this fact. He has brought England back much more nearly to the station she occupied during the later period of Lord Salisbury's tenure of the Foreign Office. We cannot affect to stand entirely apart from European complications, but we have endeavoured to hold ourselves, to a certain extent, above them. Sir Edward Grey has done much to make it clear that there is real sincerity in the oft-repeated affirmation that the first of British interests is peace. So far as the continent of Europe is concerned, we are not directly affected by the territorial readjustments or by the rivalries and ambitions of the various members of the ill-assorted family of nations. We cannot, and we do not,

profess complete indifference to them, as some extremists would desire ; for though we are an island-people, the island we inhabit is only separated by a narrow thread of sea from the European Continent. If we could hoist our anchors, so to speak, and tow England into the middle of the Atlantic, we might possibly adopt the attitude which is advocated by some of our uncompromising Imperialists. As things are, Britain has still certain responsibilities to discharge towards her European neighbours ; but she should interpret those responsibilities in the sense which we believe has been accepted by Sir Edward Grey during the recent negotiations. We have every inducement to remain on friendly terms, so far as circumstances will allow, with all the States of Europe, and to survey their various groupings with a kind of impartial interest. We can, if we persevere in this course, exercise a kind of mediatory influence upon all, and do our best to maintain and emphasise the proposition that any territorial changes or modifications of the political *status quo* should be, so far as possible, effected under the sanction of the whole body of the greater Powers. It is our interest to do what we can to revive the belief in the existence of a Concert of Europe and to make it a reality rather than a mere diplomatic phantasm.

This is a principle that ought to be kept in view during the troubled period which may lie before us. That the anxieties will be serious and protracted is extremely probable. The idea that the emancipation of the Balkan States is the precursor of a prolonged period of political quiescence and industrial activity is unfortunately not in the least likely to be realised. Whatever the present settlement may be, there is no finality about it. The expulsion of the Turk from Europe ' bag and ' baggage,' according to the old Gladstonian prescription, would not produce that result ; and, as a matter of fact, the ' bag and ' baggage ' remedy is not to be applied at the moment. A milder treatment will be adopted, which may not succeed in restoring the health of the patient or allaying the apprehensions of others. Constantinople will remain in the possession of the Moslem Power ; and that alone is bound to be an element of unsettlement, for the Crescent cannot be maintained for ever upon the shores of the Bosphorus, and the time must come sooner or later when the struggle for the inheritance of the Byzantine Emperors will be resumed. Our own belief is that the ultimate

destiny of Constantinople is to be the Capital of a Bulgarian or South Slavonic Czardom, and it might in the end have simplified matters if the armies of King Ferdinand had forced the lines of Tchataldja, established themselves on the Bosphorus, and dismissed the Sultan definitely to Asia. It would have been a daring policy that might no doubt have produced immediate and dangerous 'complications'; but the complications will arise at a later stage, and they will be none the less troublesome for being postponed.

But in any case Europe would not get the Turk off its hands by driving him across the Straits. It seems to be imagined that after that event the West need give itself no further anxiety about the children of Othman²: that they will settle down comfortably in Asia, cultivate their fields, worship Allah, and lumber along in peaceful Oriental somnolence, unprogressive but harmless, 'the world forgetting, by the world forgot.'

Unhappily, the world will have small chance of forgetting them, and is quite certain to be awkwardly reminded of their existence. The Middle East is no longer a closed enclave, a *hortus conclusus*, where the rankest weeds may flourish without causing annoyance to those outside the containing wall. There are no containing walls in these days. The East is in close touch with the West. Turkey in Asia is not a remote island but is, on the contrary, in contact with Russia, with Persia, with the Mediterranean, and with Egypt. Its population is hardly more homogeneous than that of Turkey in Europe, and a whole chain of treaties and engagements gives the Western Powers some sort of title to interfere in the internal affairs of this medley of peoples. The Slav victories may have got rid of the Macedonian question. They have, in all probability, only aggravated the Armenian question. With the colossal failure of the Young Turkish attempt at parliamentarism, we may expect that the ancient *régime* will be revived, at any rate in Asia. All the rigours of the old Moslem system will be practised upon the unfortunate subject races.

But neither the Armenians themselves nor their sympathisers abroad will endure more massacres. If the Turk does not amend his ways—and there seems no particular reason to suppose that he will—we shall soon be back in the old round of

oppression, abortive insurrection quenched in blood, and reform called for in the name of humanity but rendered nugatory by international jealousies and suspicions. Asia Minor has too many tempting prizes to offer, for a decadent theocracy, which seems to have lost much of its military capacity, to be left in undisturbed possession. Germany is anxious to exploit Mesopotamia ; France and Italy are both casting their eyes towards Syria and the Levant ; and above all there is Russia resting with her whole weight upon the frontier. The successes of the Balkan Confederacy can only render Asia Minor more interesting than ever to the statesmen and soldiers of St. Petersburg. For that way lies the road to the warm waters of the Mediterranean ; and the more strongly the European route is barred the more alluring does the Asiatic path become. If Russia cannot find her egress through the Straits she may resolve to get past them by acquiring that political, military and economical preponderance over Asia Minor which she is rapidly obtaining in Northern Persia. The collapse of Turkey as a European Power diminishes one source of friction in the international system only to create or to aggravate another.

Apart from the question of the Straits, the Balkan lands present several problems which are not likely to find a peaceful or, at any rate, an easy solution. The recommendation of the Ambassadors that Albania shall be granted autonomy is sagacious enough for the moment, since it averts what might have been a disastrous conflict of opinion. But an autonomous Albania has yet to be created, and when created it has to be maintained. Nobody who knows anything about the topography and ethnology of the Albanian Highlands can have much belief in the unity and independence of the proposed State ; and, on the other hand, nobody who recognises the spirit of that warlike race from which sprang those three great captains of the ancient and modern world, Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus and Mehemet Ali, can suppose that the Albanians can be maintained in subjugation by any but a great military Power. Again, it must be remembered that the unity of the Christian States of the Balkans is a recent development which has followed upon long years of disunion and fiercest mutual animosities. The unhappy Turks are being punished, or have been punished, for disorders in

Macedonia which were due much less to Turkish misrule than to the mutual animosities of the Bulgars, Serbs, Greeks, and Wallachs.

The astute statesmanship of King Ferdinand's advisers and the opportunity of Turkish weaknesses and dissension, aggravated, of course, by the war with Italy, brought about the union which has achieved such amazing military results. But Bulgars, Serbs, Greeks, and Catholics are sundered by racial, linguistic, and religious differences, and, more than all, by discordant historic memories; and it seems doubtful indeed whether these pushing and ambitious nationalities will be content to settle down permanently within the limits which a treaty of peace or a European Conference may assign to them. Perhaps Bulgaria might be temporarily satisfied, for she will be well established on the shores both of the Black Sea and the Aegean, and can devote the energies of her capable and industrious people to developing her future as a commercial nation with an extensive foreign trade. With Servia, it is otherwise. The Servians are people of long-cherished ambitions. There is hardly a Servian peasant or tradesman who does not in his heart believe that his countrymen are the inheritors of the territories of the old Illyrian Empire which extended from the Adriatic to the Aegean, and from the mountains of Thessaly to far beyond the Save.

Illyria is to the Servians what Italia Irredenta was to the countrymen of Garibaldi and Cavour, and it is against the same enemy that their efforts and aspirations are directed. Those who have travelled in Servia during the past few years know well that the feeling against the Turks was mild compared to the intense hatred universally entertained in the kingdom against Austria-Hungary and her German ally. A war with Austria would be infinitely more popular than the recent campaign against the Ottomans ever could have been; and it is clear that the ebullitions of feeling which found expression in the Servian Press recently were permitted by the Government simply because it would have been impossible to restrain them.

One can hardly suppose that the accommodation which has with difficulty been patched up between Austria and Servia can have the elements of permanence. Servia, under strong moral pressure from her special patron, and from Great Britain

and France, may be content for the moment to limit her claim to that purely commercial port of the Adriatic and the neutralised highway behind, which Austria has agreed to recognise. Both parties, it must be admitted, have displayed a commendable self-command in very difficult circumstances. For a generation past Austrian statesmanship has regarded the exploitation of the Balkan regions and the ultimate extension of Austrian influence to the Aegean, as an object which sooner or later was destined to be attained. The revival of the Balkan nations and the creation of a great armed South Slavonic Confederacy is evidently a death-blow to the hopes of Austria in this field, and it is not at all surprising that the militant and ambitious party in the Monarchy, of which the heir-apparent is supposed to be the chief, has with difficulty been persuaded to accept the accomplished facts. The old Emperor and Count Berchtold have had arduous work to prevail over the more aggressive groups, if, indeed, it is at present certain that they have prevailed. The temptation to intervene by force of arms, even at the risk of provoking a rupture with Russia, must have been considerable ; for Austrian statesmen must be well aware that no such favourable opportunity may recur, and that every year which passes may make the eventual conflict with Servia more hazardous.

But is such a conflict bound to arise ? Austrian observers answer the question in the affirmative, and it is difficult to dispute the correctness of their forecast. It seems to us undeniable that between Austria and Servia there is a divergence of interests which is practically irreconcilable. On the one hand, there is the Illyrian tradition and the idea of a Greater Servia working in the minds of every subject of King Peter, and among the Serbs and Croato-Serbs outside his jurisdiction. The Serbs are a small people who intend to be great. For years, perhaps for generations to come, Servian politics will be dominated by the belief that the manifest destiny of the Serb race is to be united in one community, and that the sovereign who rules at Belgrade or Skopje ought to be, and must be, the head of the whole population, whether it is now quartered in Servia or Macedonia, in Bosnia or Dalmatia, in Croatia or in the Banat of Hungary. To a Serb, and perhaps to many others also, it seems evident that all these populations, kindred in race and feeling and language, though under different

religious organisations, must be, and will be, combined to form one great homogeneous state, and that united Illyria is no more fantastic than united Italy or united Germany.

On the other side is Austria bound by the very law of her being to oppose and defeat this aspiration. The Serb race cannot be united without depriving the Crown of the Hapsburgs and St. Stephen of several millions of subjects and producing a dislocation which must tear Hungary asunder and shake the Cisleithanian fabric to pieces. Austria, it is true, might make a counter-move by herself welding the South Slavonic peoples into a confederacy, and drawing into this combination the Serbs of the kingdom and of Macedonia, as well as those under her own immediate rule. This was always a possible policy for Austria, and many of her statesmen have held it before them as a purpose which might ultimately be accomplished. But that was before the war and before the emergence of Servia as a respectable military power. As things stand, it would be difficult indeed for Austria to place herself at the head of a confederacy which would extend beyond the Danube. She might, it is true, make some effort to give political equality to her Slavonic subjects, and so convert the dual into a triple monarchy. But it is doubtful whether even this could be done without driving the Magyars into separation and putting irresistible pressure upon the German Austrians to seek shelter and safety by union with the Teutonic Empire. In fact, almost any disturbance of the existing *status quo* threatens Austria with dismemberment, and that is obviously a fate which Austrian statesmen and Austrian patriots will resist to the last. Austria is not exactly the sick man of Europe in the sense that Turkey has so long been ; but the Hapsburg Monarchy is a highly unstable political organism, and it seems probable that the Eastern question will be transferred from the South to the North of the Danube, and that the gradual disruption of Austria-Hungary, the efforts made to avert it, and the disposal of territories split off from the main trunk will keep Europe in perturbation for many years to come.

The truth is that Continental Europe has not yet emerged from the nation-making stage. It is a truth which underlies all international relations, but of which insufficient account is taken in England. Our own struggle for national consolida-

tion and geographical definition lies so very far behind us that we are always disposed to treat the European States as though they were political entities as stable as ourselves. Since the union of the English and Scottish Crowns the political map of the British Islands has undergone no change: we assumed our definite shape three centuries ago, and have retained it ever since, without any real anxiety or alarm, even during periods of foreign war and civil disturbance. We cannot imagine how we should feel if we knew that there were English-speaking people living unwillingly under an alien rule, or that territory, ethnologically and geographically British, was an appendage to some other political system. In the United Kingdom we did our rounding-off far back in the past and the process has almost faded out of our consciousness.

It is not so with the other nations. Lord Salisbury once recommended the study of 'large maps' as a useful exercise to those who would master the realities of foreign policy. Even more salutary might be the examination of a good historical atlas, a work too rarely met with on English bookshelves. To turn to the map of Europe as it was in 1815, or in 1840, or even in 1860, is to be reminded with almost startling force of the extreme rawness of the present political arrangement of the Continent. A person born in the first year of Queen Victoria's reign has lived through kaleidoscopic variations in the political geography and history of Europe. A man, no older than Mr. Asquith, is yet older than the German Empire; he is older than the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in its present form; than the Republic of France, and the Republic of Portugal; than the Kingdoms of Italy, Roumania, Servia, Bulgaria, and Norway. A veteran like Lord Strathcona was born before the Kingdom of Greece and the Kingdom of Belgium; before the 'Congress Kingdom' of Poland had been extinguished and the Republic of Cracow suppressed; and, of course, long before the Bourbons had been expelled from Naples and the Austrians from Venice. Great Britain, alone among the countries of Europe, retains both the geographical limits and the political system of eighty-five years ago. France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Denmark, Roumania, the Balkan States, have lost territory or gained it. Spain has passed from monarchy to republic and from republic to

monarchy ; Portugal from monarchy to republic ; Sweden has been sundered from Norway, and Holland from Belgium ; the Papacy has been deprived of the last vestige of its temporal sovereignty. There is no parallel for a succession of changes so rapid and so sweeping in ancient or modern history since the Near East and the Middle East were broken to pieces by the conquests of Alexander the Great, unless it be in the general, but transient, upheavals and reconstructions of the Napoleonic era.

Everybody is aware of these facts. To state them is to utter truisms. But like other truisms they are often ignored not merely by the unthinking masses but by politicians and publicists, particularly in England. We assume that there is an established order, a settled relation, among the various communities, which can be expected to slide back into its normal groove after the disturbance produced by a war or an outbreak of diplomatic ' friction ' has subsided. But this is to misconceive the very elements of the problem ; to regard the European polity as static whereas it is torn by dynamic forces. It is mere diplomatic convention to pretend that it can work with mechanical precision when in fact it is not a regulated machine at all but a living organism evolving towards a newer form amid all the stress and struggle of the biological process. There is no nation in Europe—at least no one of the greater nations and not many of the smaller—which feels that it has attained its ultimate shape, or that it can attain that result without taking from others something they would withhold, or holding something they intend to take. There is no satisfied people—satisfied we mean in the political sense—except ourselves. All the rest are still in the consolidating, the reconstructing, the nation-building, the rounding-off, the rehabilitating, phase. Some, like these Balkan kingdoms, are just entering upon it. Others, like Russia, casting hungry eyes upon the waters of the open sea ; like Germany, with her fierce ungratified longings for expansion and exploitation and her constant sense of being dangerously wedged between the Latin and the Slav Powers ; like Austria, torn by racial unrest ; like France, gazing avidly upon her lost provinces, feel that it is still incomplete. Yet others, like the Czechs and the Poles, are waiting their turn to begin it. When the historian of the future looks back upon these years in which we are living, he will not find it

surprising that they should have been the prelude to the further series of changes, the conflicts, the revolutions, the campaigns, military and diplomatic, which he will have had to record ; but he may deem it strange that observers in 1912 and 1913 showed so dim a consciousness of the realities by which they were surrounded, an appreciation so faint of the forces quivering through the world in which they moved. So did William Pitt, in February 1792, declare it as his opinion that ' there ' never was a time in the history of this country when, from the ' situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect fifteen ' years of peace than we may at the present moment.' Fifteen years of peace ! And within two months France declared war upon Austria, and the beginning was made of three and twenty years of bloodshed. So did the permanent chief of the Foreign Office staff inform Lord Granville on the 5th of July 1870, within a fortnight of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, that he had never, in all his long experience, known so great a lull in international affairs !

English politicians and political observers are much given to these optimistic estimates. We credit the world at large with our own quiescence and our aversion from further international adventure. We do not recognise that the *status quo* which suits us very well is not in fact quite satisfactory to other peoples. We, no doubt, have no wish that the arrangement should be disturbed ; on the contrary, we are well content that it should be maintained indefinitely ; we find it difficult to understand the motives which work for its modification in various quarters. We can be whole-hearted in our encouragement of the proposals to substitute international arbitration for militarism, for we have everything to gain and nothing to lose by their success. If universal disarmament could be arranged, if all the armies were suddenly disbanded, all the navies scrapped, and all the arsenals and gun-foundries dismantled, we should have good reason to rejoice over our relief from the enormous burden of defending our trade, our territory, and our freedom from alien interferences. We want things to remain as they are, and should be only too delighted if they could so remain when we had stripped ourselves of our costly panoply. But that is not the foreign point of view, the view of nations still afflicted with ' growing pains,' still tormented by unfulfilled aspirations. They are apt to regard our anxiety

to mitigate the competition in armaments as an example of British hypocrisy, and to receive them with the suspicion undoubtedly engendered in the last Hague Conference by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's perfectly genuine, though exceedingly misplaced, attempts to get the principle accepted in the councils of Europe. Naturally, they say, England would like to regard the present situation as stereotyped, as insusceptible of further change. But we know that it will be changed, and must be changed, to the advantage of those who are strong and the detriment of those who are too weak to keep what they have got or to seize what they desire. Therefore, we can none of us abandon the effort to render ourselves as powerful, for defensive and offensive purposes alike, as our circumstances and resources permit.

The remodelling of the world will continue. It is difficult to conceive that a system so artificial in many respects as that which exists at present can endure indefinitely, and that Europe, still rolling in the swell of the great reconstructions and dislocations of the past century, has yet attained equilibrium; or that the exploitation of backward and semi-civilised countries by the energetic races of the West, has reached its term. The Balkan war, which has started the South Slavonic peoples on the path already trodden by the Teutons and the Latins, can be regarded, in some of its aspects, with unqualified satisfaction. It has liberated a richly endowed region from the blight of a stupid and wasteful despotism; it has given freedom and the opportunity of secure and prosperous living to people whose natural intelligence has been blunted, and their capacities misused, by centuries of serfdom; it may eventually create a new great nation, capable of high achievements not only in arms, but in commerce, in industry, in science and in learning. The regeneration of the South Slavs is hardly less notable than the emergence of Japan. But such developments do not make for tranquillity. The unification of Germany and Italy, the Japanese revival, brought not peace upon earth but a sword. To a Europe, already agitated by the German challenge of British naval supremacy, by the rivalry of Germany and France, by the Russian sway towards the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, by the Italian projects of mastery over the Adriatic and the Aegean, there comes this fresh disturbing factor in the shape of another vivid racial and nationalist

revival, and a new burst of aspirations that cannot be brought to fruition without a renewed clash of interests and ambitions. Cautious and far-seeing statesmanship will be needed before the definitive rectification of frontiers and jurisdictions is achieved, or before the idea of national completeness and ethnic unity has been superseded by some larger synthesis. Arbitration and disarmament are dreams so long as nations still require to parade before one another 'in shining armour,' to lay mailed fists on ready weapons, and to use their legions in order to enforce or resist the demands of diplomacy, if not in the crude brutality of actual combat.

The part that Britain should play on this confused stage is one that demands the most serious consideration by those who can control or influence her action. We can never be indifferent to the relations of the Continental States to one another; but we have reached a turning point in European history at which it is more than ever necessary for us to reflect how far our interests are involved in their rivalries and associations. Directly, we are concerned in them very little, if at all. It matters nothing to us whether, for example, Alsatian peasants are enrolled in German or in French regiments; or whether the inhabitants of Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia are governed from Belgrade, Vienna, or Rome. About the Balance of Power in Europe we have little occasion to trouble ourselves. Historians like Mr. Peel maintain that our overseas Empire came to us as a kind of by-product of our struggle to maintain the European equilibrium :

'That Empire is the fruit of a long, deliberate, persistent and conscious effort on the part of our statesmen to avert the predominance of any European Power. If this be so, then the policy of England, whether in the old world of Europe or in the continents without, stands explained as one consistent and coherent plan. Her maintenance of the balance of power in Europe and her construction of an Empire in the outer continents have been two aspects of the same design.'

Whether the design was either so coherent or so consistent as is here suggested is a highly disputable proposition. But in any case, we have ceased to require its application. The Balance of Power is so delicately adjusted between five or six great armed nations or groups, that we are not called upon to interfere with the mechanism. We are not exposed to any

such danger as the statesmen of the sixteenth century apprehended from Spain, or those of the eighteenth from France ; nor is it at all likely that any State can obtain such a predominance in Europe as would be a menace to ourselves. Germany, flanked on the East by an army superior in numbers to her own, and on the West by an army perhaps superior in quality, cannot be so foolish as to cherish the ambitions of a Charles V. or a Napoleon, and would have no chance of achieving them if she did. It is conceivable that the coming rearrangement of the map of Europe might involve a collision between the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance ; but the victorious party in that ruinous conflict could scarcely establish a supremacy that would be dangerous to ourselves. How far our general understanding with France engages us to take part in such a contest is a point which remains exceedingly obscure, for it has never been precisely elucidated by official statements or publications. But there is no reason to believe that we have pledged ourselves to join in a campaign against the enemies of our friends unless some direct British interest is imperilled, or unless we think proper to vindicate the sanctity of a treaty to which we are parties.

These, it seems to us, are the two main objects to which the energies of our Foreign Office should be directed. England should cause it to be understood, as we believe Sir Edward Grey has done during the past few months, that her attitude towards the rearrangement of European territory and the readjustment of European relationships is one of amicable disinterestedness. She can wish well to all parties without being entangled in partisanship with any. We shall do our best to promote the settlement of any differences which may arise by discussion and mediation, so far as it is acceptable ; if unhappily the divergences should lead to a quarrel or a rupture, we ought to make it clear that we shall not feel ourselves called upon to take sides in the dispute. We shall, of course, use all the influence we legitimately can as benevolent neutrals to secure the recognition of European public law and to prevent such gross and flagrant violations of solemn engagements as have disgraced the past few years. For the rest, we can safely let it be known that our position is one of conservation and defence. The corner-stone of that position is the possession of a navy of preponderating strength, measured

by its relation to the next most powerful maritime armament. If Germany, or any other State, thinks proper to equip herself with a gigantic navy we have no right to object ; but we have a right to retain our own margin of superiority, and with the help of our Dominions and Dependencies we shall continue to do so. We shall meet with fewer difficulties in the task if we cause the conviction to prevail that our fleets, and our armies as well, will be employed for defensive purposes alone : for the defence of these islands, in the first place ; and, secondly, for the security of our overseas possessions and areas of control. Where these are affected—as they might be in Persia, on the Indian frontier, or in North-Eastern Africa—we come into the transaction as principals, and can claim that we must be consulted upon any territorial changes or transfer of sovereignty that may be contemplated.

Subject to these limits we can afford to carry our policy of benevolent neutrality beyond the bounds of Europe. We ought to remember that if the nation-making phase is not yet finished, neither is that of Empire-making, except for ourselves. The competition of the Western Powers for the acquisition and control of extra-European subject-lands is still in progress. We did so well by it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that we are quite prepared to stand aside in the twentieth. Our era of expansion and acquisition is past. With a quarter of the land surface of the globe included within our political system, we want nothing more ; the British Empire needs no extension, but rather consolidation and intensive development. But other Powers also seek empires ; they are still as much bent on conquest and colonisation as we ourselves were in the days before we were satiated. In that still large area inhabited by savage, weak, or backward races outside our own ring-fence the contest, from which we have retired, is being waged with increasing energy. France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, the United States, have acquired new transmarine dominions, or added largely to those they had previously possessed, during the past forty years.

It is natural, perhaps inevitable, that this process should be attended by rivalries and animosities akin to those provoked in the eighteenth century. That the Continental States should be drawn into quarrels, perhaps into wars, over the partition

and exploitation of Africa and the Near and Middle East ; that they will sometimes seek to aggrandise themselves at the expense of one another :— this is only what a backward glance at our own history should suggest. Let us remind ourselves of one significant fact. The French, with a vigour and brilliancy worthy of the countrymen of Jacques Cartier and Dupleix, have set to work during the past thirty years to re-create a new empire, greater in actual extent and population than that which they lost to us before the Revolution. They have succeeded so well that they are now the second Colonial Power of the world, with an area nearly five million square miles in extent and a population approaching sixty millions. That France may keep what she has boldly gained is possible ; that she will keep it unchallenged is unlikely. As well suppose that England would have sat down quietly while the Dutch were capturing the wealth of the Eastern seas as imagine that Germany, with her fleets, her maritime commerce, her hungry ambitions, and her population of 65,000,000, increasing by eight millions decennially, will allow undisturbed enjoyment of all these vast dependencies to a rival with a stationary population that will soon be little more than half her own. Coaling-stations, naval bases, larger and richer colonies, spheres of exploitation, Germany will assuredly seek to obtain. She cannot be allowed to have them from us ; but it is no business of ours to prevent her from acquiring them from other holders, aboriginal or civilised. As Mr. Spender observes :

‘It is more dangerous to us in the long run that legitimate German ambitions should be thwarted than that we should occasionally run the risk of seeing Germany gain a port or a strip of sea-board which might conceivably, though not probably, harbour a German cruiser in time of war or serve as a coaling-station for German warships. The command of the sea would become intolerable to our neighbours, if it became in practice a veto on their expansion, lest in conceivable circumstances the British fleet should be embarrassed in war. One of the main causes of war, or at least of competition in armaments, is the extreme anxiety of strategists to secure their positions in case of war. Modern diplomacy, it has been said, is a manœuvring for position in imaginary wars invented by Staff Colleges, and in this process the political conditions which make for peace are constantly disregarded.’

Here, however, the reference is only to 'legitimate' German ambitions. But what are the legitimate ambitions of a small Power which tries to become great, or of a great Power which seeks to grow greater? Was it a legitimate ambition which led us to take Canada from the French or the Cape from the Dutch? From our point of view, the one ambition which we can on no account regard as legitimate is that which can only be gratified at the expense of the British Empire. This we must oppose with all the moral and material force at our command. But we may hope, with Mr. Spender, that the expansion of Germany, and we may add the general process of re-construction in Europe and empire-making outside, may be transacted rather by hard-bargaining and diplomatic manœuvring than by actual warfare. And it is less likely to be attended by that calamity if we hold ourselves as dispassionately aloof from it as we can, and mingle in it only so far as we are compelled to do so in order to safeguard our own special and definite interests.

THE ENGLISHMAN'S DILEMMA

1. *The New Democracy and the Constitution.* By WILLIAM SHARP MCKECHNIE. Murray. 1912.
2. *A New Government for the British Empire.* By F. W. BUSSELL. Longmans, Green. 1912.
3. *Rights of Citizenship.* By Sir WILLIAM ANSON and others, with a Preface by the Marquis of Lansdowne. F. Warne. 1912.

THE contrast between the high level of our commercial prosperity and the low level of our political life continues to be one of the most unsatisfactory features of the development of the modern democratic State. Both phenomena are well ascertained and almost universally recognised. As regards our commercial and industrial prosperity the Board of Trade returns of our oversea trade show that all previous records have been passed ; while the unemployment returns indicate that all branches of national industry are exceptionally active. More impressive perhaps, because more specific, are the statements published a few weeks ago by the 'Daily Mail' as the results of a journalistic inquiry into the condition of trade throughout the kingdom. Almost every important town in the kingdom was visited, and from all came the same tale of abounding prosperity. The commercial prosperity of the country is a fact beyond dispute. On the other hand, even the greatest optimist cannot paint the political picture in attractive colours. The contempt into which the proceedings of the House of Commons have fallen is so notorious as to need no proof. It is indeed not too much to say that the vast mass of the population at the present moment neither knows nor cares what the House of Commons is doing.

That would not be a matter of much consequence if the politicians were content to play their game of in-and-out with counters of their own devising and of their own redeeming. But the counters with which the politicians play have in the end to be cashed by the nation ; for the proceedings at Westminster—they can no longer be called debates—involve issues

which may result in wholesale waste of our national resources and in bitter strife between different sections of our people.

The seriousness of such a situation is being more and more emphasised by writers whose position enables them to take an independent view. Two books recently issuing from two of our universities call attention to the grave dangers involved in the present working of the British Constitution. The first is by Dr. McKechnie, lecturer on constitutional law and history in the University of Glasgow. The point on which Dr. McKechnie lays most stress is the contrast between the theory and the practice of our constitution. In theory we still possess a constitution in which the essential liberties of the individual are secured by the independence of the judiciary and by the restraint which a freely elected assembly can impose upon the executive government. In practice we have an alternating tyranny, and at each general election the dilemma which lies before every Englishman is, to which set of tyrants shall he help to commit his own fortunes and the destinies of his country. To quote Mr. McKechnie :

‘ Under the British Constitution, as moulded by recent events, the undivided supreme power always lies with one or other of the two parties that divide the State. . . . Democracy, far from embodying compromise, implies a monopoly of power by one-half of the people over the other half. Each party in turn is absolutely supreme, without let or hindrance. Sovereignty is no longer divided between King, Lords, and Commons, but is concentrated in the leaders of the party in power on the one condition that they continue to lead. This is the fundamental fact to be kept in view in any analysis of the British Constitution of to-day.’

Nor is the tyranny exercised by the Cabinet—or by the unseen individuals who control the Cabinet—restrained by any respect for what have hitherto been regarded as fundamental English liberties. All through the centuries Englishmen have realised that the final safeguard for their liberties lay in the independence of the Courts of Justice, and every would-be tyrant has found it necessary to strike at that independence. The Stuarts worked through the Star Chamber : a modern British Cabinet effects the same purpose first by removing hosts of important issues from the jurisdiction of the courts, and secondly by reversing by Act of Parliament any judicial decision that is inconvenient to the political supporters of the party in

power. Nearly every Bill now brought before the House of Commons contains clauses providing that the interpretation of disputed points shall not come before the courts of law but shall be decided by some government department. The distinction is fundamental. A court of law works in the open, and the reasons which determine the decision of the judge have to be publicly stated. A government department works in secret : the personalities who compose it are largely unknown to the public : all that is known about them is that their prospects of promotion depend on the retention of the good graces of the Cabinet. As a result a litigant who has to submit his case to a government department never knows whether it will be decided on its merits or in deference to political considerations. This substitution of bureaucrats for judges is not a new phenomenon in history. Whenever a bureaucracy becomes powerful, as in France under the old *régime*, the right of the citizen to a fair and open trial tends to disappear.

Similar in essence, though somewhat different in detail, is the process by which judicial decisions are for political reasons reversed by Act of Parliament. The most striking case is the reversal of the Taff Vale judgment by the Trade Disputes Act of 1906. The full consequences of this measure are only now beginning to be realised. Numerous strikes have shown that the clause which permits peaceful picketing acts as a serious obstacle to prosecutions for violence and intimidation ; while the recent judgment of the House of Lords in the case of *Vacher & Sons v. the London Society of Compositors* in effect declares that a trade union may with impunity libel or slander any person upon any occasion without any cause. Undeterred by these experiences, the House of Commons is now engaged in the consideration of a Bill for reversing another judicial decision, the famous Osborne judgment. That judgment was obtained at the suit of a zealous trade unionist, who, as a Liberal, objected to having the funds of his society employed for the support of Socialist candidates for Parliament. Scarcely was the judgment pronounced before the Labour party put pressure upon the Government to introduce a Bill to reverse it. After a brief resistance the Government gave way, and the present Bill is the result. It will in effect enable trade unions to compel British citizens to subscribe to political causes of which they disapprove.

Equally serious from the point of view of the general public is the recent action of Mr. McKenna with regard to engine-driver Knox. This man was convicted of drunkenness, and the railway company thereupon very properly removed him from the position he was occupying to one involving less responsibility for the safety of the public. His comrades promptly went on strike. In the first instance their plea was that the company had no right to take cognisance of the conduct of its employés when off duty. That plea was so obviously untenable in the case of an engine-driver, and in the case of drunkenness, that it was amended to a claim that the man had been improperly convicted. Miscarriage of justice is always possible; in the course of a year there are doubtless several improper convictions; but never before has a Home Secretary displayed such frenzied zeal to upset the judgment of a properly constituted bench of magistrates. Without any consultation with the Newcastle magistrates, Mr. McKenna dispatched a London magistrate post haste to inquire into the case. This gentleman rejudged the case, after an interval of six weeks, on evidence unprotected by oath. He did not deny that the man was the worse for liquor on the occasion in question, but with wonderful ingenuity he found a way out of the difficulty by declaring that Knox was not drunk 'in a police-court sense.' The net result is to show that if a man is supported by a powerful trade union, politicians will twist in his favour the administration of the criminal as well as of the civil law.

In comparison with these denials of essential civic liberties, the tyranny exercised by the Cabinet over members of Parliament is relatively unimportant. Yet in itself that is serious enough. In theory the House of Commons is a freely elected assembly composed of men whose sole object is to advance the welfare of the nation on lines approved by the people themselves. For the exercise of these functions freedom of debate and freedom in voting are the first essentials. Neither exists. Not only are the opportunities of debate curtailed by the institution of the parliamentary guillotine, but even when that machine for securing silence is not at work, there is scarcely one member in a hundred who dares to say bluntly what he thinks—unless his thoughts happen to be so well regulated that they uniformly coincide with the decisions of

the party caucus. Still less does any member dare to vote as he chooses.

There can be little doubt that this is the final reason for the indifference of the public to the proceedings of Parliament. No one cares to watch a series of mock fights whose issue has in each case been determined in advance. In effect the Cabinet has absolute control over the House of Commons. Whatever it decrees, that will be done. It is true that there are occasions when the Cabinet finds itself compelled to modify a cherished policy in order to meet protests from the House of Commons or from public opinion. But such occasional concessions are characteristic of all tyrannies. No absolute monarch can entirely ignore the wishes of his subjects. The real distinction between a tyrannical and a free government lies in this: that under the former the tyrant decides, in view of the various considerations affecting his mind, what shall be done; under the latter the people themselves frame the decision. In our existing political system, as Dr. McKechnie points out with admirable lucidity, the very machinery which we have created to enable the people to express their wishes has in practice rendered it impossible for them to do so.

‘The millions of voters become mere pawns in a game controlled by complex forces in which political ambition, intellect, wealth, and persuasive eloquence play leading rôles. The will of the effective majority tends to be the will of a political organisation, and that in turn is determined partly by the character and inclination of the few outstanding politicians who, by gaining the ear of the multitude, have got themselves accepted as party leaders: partly by the conditions laid down by subscribers to the party war-chest: and partly by the necessity of an attractive electioneering programme.’

An almost identical view of the actual working of our constitution is expressed by Dr. Bussell, vice-principal of Brasenose, in his ‘New Government for the British Empire’:

‘It cannot be pretended that all the subjects acquiesce either in the form or the measures of the administration, because a certain majority have voted for the delegates in parliament. Democracy is indeed put out of court by its own professed advocates, when these refuse to consult it on any definite measures. . . . The ominous symptom to-day is not that the people claim to govern themselves, which, if a genuine wish, would be a sign of health; but rather that clever men claim absolute power to act in the people’s name.’

Dr. Bussell returns to the same point later on, and remarks that: 'One of the most serious and disquieting symptoms of the time is the curious attitude adopted by the "party of progress" to the *Referendum*.'

He might have added that the attitude of the Unionist party towards the referendum is equally disquieting and even more puzzling. On the 29th of November 1910 in the Albert Hall Mr. Balfour declared his willingness to submit the question of tariff reform to a referendum, and his declaration was almost unanimously approved by the Unionist party. The only Unionist who then stood out against it was Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who declined to regard Mr. Balfour's pledge as binding except for the election then imminent. That this was not Mr. Balfour's own view is made clear by his speech at the Constitutional Club on the 6th of February 1911, two months after the election. In this speech Mr. Balfour dealt very fully with the whole subject, arguing that the referendum ought to be a permanent part of the machinery of our constitution, and that it must be applied not only to the determination of differences between the two Houses, but also to the settlement of questions on which the two Houses might be agreed. He proceeded to say that it was undesirable that 'normal budgets' should be submitted to a referendum, but that he was convinced that the proper way to allay the suspicions that had been aroused with regard to tariff reform was to give the people an opportunity of judging. Mr. Balfour went on: 'These are my views. I expressed them at the election, and I should feel it wrong to disguise them or modify them after that election.' Six weeks later Lord Lansdowne, speaking in the House of Lords, was even more explicit:

'There is the case where the two Houses are in agreement and had passed a Bill, but where it might be desired, perhaps by the Government of the day itself, to make sure that it had the opinion of the country at its back before the Bill became law. I am sure noble lords opposite will not be slow to perceive that I am referring to such a use of the referendum as was suggested by Mr. Balfour in his memorable pronouncement at the Albert Hall last year. That pledge of course will be fulfilled whenever we have an opportunity of fulfilling it.'

It is difficult to understand by what process of political coercion

Lord Lansdowne was induced to repudiate in November 1912 what he had said in March 1911.

His sudden *volte-face* is all the more remarkable in view of the active campaign carried on by many of the prominent members of the Unionist party in favour of establishing the referendum as part of our constitution. On this point it is sufficient to quote from a little volume called 'Rights of Citizenship. A Survey of Safeguards for the People,' issued early in the month of November 1912 with the apparent approval of the Central Organisation of the party. The contributors to the volume are Sir William Anson, Mr. F. E. Smith, Lord Willoughby de Broke, Professor Dicey, Viscount Middleton, Sir Robert Finlay, Lord Hugh Cecil, and the Earl of Selborne; their work is preceded and blessed by a preface from the pen of the Marquis of Lansdowne. Among these essays Lord Selborne's is the most important because it is the most explicit. Its purpose is to explain and advocate the institution of the referendum. With great lucidity Lord Selborne shows how under our existing system of elections it is impossible to ascertain the wishes of the people on any particular proposition, and demonstrates the injustice to the individual elector of compelling him to support proposals which he disapproves as the only means of opposing others which he disapproves still more. Lord Selborne also emphasises all that has been written above as to the growing tyranny of the Cabinet and the party machine, and points out that in practice the party machine is always controlled by the most zealous members of the party, so that it does not represent the average opinion of the party, and still less the average opinion of the country. These evils are intensified when the Cabinet depends for its existence on the support of several independent groups. As we have all seen during the last few months, the present Cabinet is one day the tool of the Welsh Nonconformists; the next it is carrying out the orders of the Labour party; while day after day without intermission it waits for Mr. Redmond's nod. The referendum, Lord Selborne argues, would certainly defeat log-rolling; while more generally it would make ministers and members hesitate to put forward, or to support, measures strongly opposed by any large section of the people. He concludes a powerful and well-marshalled case by declaring that: 'The referendum would be a potent instrument for

'the political education of the democracy.' A more emphatic pronouncement in favour of the referendum as a general instrument of government it would be impossible to find. Yet within a week of the issue of this volume of essays with the benediction of the party, Lord Lansdowne, speaking at the Albert Hall, threw over the referendum altogether so far as concerns its application to the one question of Unionist policy which interests the country.

That speech was immediately followed by a catastrophic change in the prospects of the Unionist party. Up to the time of its delivery Unionist free traders—who are a more numerous body than Tory wire-pullers imagine—and the even larger body of moderate Liberals who mistrust Lloyd Georgeism but mistrust Protectionism more, had been able to support the Unionist party, because they believed that it was still bound by Mr. Balfour's referendum pledge. The withdrawal of the referendum produced an instant reaction.

The Albert Hall demonstration was on the 14th of November : a by-election was due at Bolton on the 23rd of November. On the 14th Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Bonar Law had nailed their colours to the tariff-reform mast, and once again put forward tariff reform as the first constructive item in the programme of the Unionist party. On the 20th Mr. Bonar Law sent a telegram to the Unionist candidate in Bolton to wish him success. It was a long telegram, denouncing the revolutionary policy of the Government, and dealing specifically with the questions of Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment. But there was not one single word of reference to tariff reform. The people who raised at Bolton the question of this first item in the Unionist programme were the opponents of that professed panacea. They it was who kept the issue of free trade *versus* protection well before the electors, with the result that the Unionist candidate was defeated.

A veritable panic ensued in the Unionist party. The extreme tariff reformers who control the party machinery had been boasting that they could win Bolton on tariff reform. Their failure revealed the hollowness of their claim to represent the great majority of the Unionist party. Their long protracted bluff was exposed, and scores of Unionists who had previously been afraid to say a word against them at once became vocal.

Bolton indeed has opened the eyes of the Unionists, as the

little girl in the fairy tale—where a naked king is officially declared to be fully dressed—opens the eyes of the courtiers by blurting out 'Why, he has nothing on.' Bolton has shown that the tariff reformers, for all their loud boasting and all their ingenious wire-pulling of the public press, have nothing on. Their specific is even more unpopular to-day than it was in 1906, when it was crushingly defeated on a clear trial of strength. Before the Bolton election most Unionists would, in private, admit that tariff reform was a dead horse; but, with few exceptions, they were afraid to say so in public because of the terrorism established by the group of 'Confederates' who have introduced into English political life the methods of the Mafia and the Black Hand. After Bolton all tongues were loosed, and members of Parliament who previously had been regarded as the most orthodox of tariff reformers went about openly saying that the food taxers did not represent five per cent. of the party.

Faced with this situation, Mr. Bonar Law found it necessary to make another speech with the object of undoing as far as possible the mischief done by Lord Lansdowne's declaration at the Albert Hall. He found a formula which made the Unionist party the laughing stock of the country, and went far towards making Great Britain the laughing stock of the Empire. His suggestion was that the question of imposing food taxes in the United Kingdom should be submitted to the judgment of the colonies. If the colonies demanded food taxes we were humbly to submit; if they kindly consented to forgo this demand we were gratefully to accept their indulgence.

Such a proposition is as repugnant to the good feeling of the colonies as to the self-respect of Great Britain. The Canadian position on the subject was made clear, before Mr. Bonar Law spoke, by the 'Toronto News,' one of the Canadian papers which strongly supports Imperial preference.

In its issue of the 26th of November 1912 this journal wrote that it was not:

'in the interest of Canada or in the interest of the Empire that we should impose duties for the advantage of British manufacturers which operate to the disadvantage of Canadian manufacturers. . . . Canada does not expect the British people to make sacrifices for the Dominions, whether in the form of food taxes or in any other class of duties.'

This clear declaration, which was provoked by Lord Lansdowne's speech at the Albert Hall, was telegraphed to London and appeared in the 'Times' of the 27th of November. It possibly helped to inspire Mr. Bonar Law with the wild idea that he might escape food taxes by appealing *ad misericordiam* to the forbearance of the Dominions. That part of his plan—if plan it was—certainly succeeded, for the effect of his speech at Ashton-under-Lyne was to give the *coup de grâce* to the preposterous theory that the self-governing Dominions were yearning for the imposition of a tax on the food of the people of Great Britain, and were almost threatening disloyalty because the wicked Radicals had banged, barred, and bolted the door. It is sufficient here to quote the telegraphic opinion of one of the New Zealand papers that 'nothing could be more 'likely to dissolve the cement of Empire than a proposal 'that the Dominions should settle the fiscal policy of Great 'Britain.' *

While British tariff reformers year after year and day after day go on repeating that without Imperial preferences the Empire will be rent asunder, the self-governing Dominions have voluntarily come forward and undertaken to provide ships and money and men for Imperial defence, solely because they realise that it is their duty to join in defending an Empire which is theirs as well as ours. No higher note has ever been struck in all the recent development of our Imperial politics than in the concluding words of Mr. Borden's speech to the Canadian House of Commons appealing to Canada for a gift of three super-Dreadnoughts to the Royal Navy :

'Almost unaided, the Motherland, not for herself alone but for us as well, is sustaining the burden of a vital Imperial duty and confronting an overmastering necessity of national existence. Bringing the best assistance we may in the urgency of the moment we come thus to her aid in token of our determination to protect and ensure the safety and integrity of this Empire, and our resolve to defend on sea as well as on land our Flag, our honour, and our heritage.'†

To suggest, as the tariff reformers do, that the man who could utter these words is waiting to be paid for them by a

* Times, 20th of December, 1912.

† Times, 6th of December, 1912.

fiscal preference is as gross an insult as an over-developed imagination could conceive. Yet it was seriously whispered by political gossips, claiming to be familiar with the views of the Unionist inner circle, that the real reason why Lord Lansdowne dropped the referendum was that he and Mr. Bonar Law had promised a preference to Mr. Borden in return for Dreadnoughts. People who believe this tale must have a curious conception not only of the honour but of the common sense of the parties concerned. It is incredible that Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Bonar Law could be so foolish as to give their opponents the credit of Canadian Dreadnoughts while reserving to themselves the discredit of preferential food taxes; it is equally incredible that Mr. Borden would allow his policy to be determined by the verbal promises of British politicians out of office.

Yet if by any chance conversations between Mr. Borden and leading British tariff reformers did take place, it would be interesting to know whether the fact was disclosed that it is part of the tariff-reform policy to deprive Canada of the free market to which she now consigns the greater part of her exports. This is the only possible interpretation that can be placed upon Mr. Bonar Law's words in the House of Commons as given in the official report for the 17th of October 1912 (p. 1567) :

'We intend to treat the Colonies better than we treat any foreign country, but we do not intend to treat them as we treat ourselves.'

The context shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that this statement had reference to the preferential tariff which Mr. Bonar Law hopes to establish in this country. The Tariff Reform Commission have been saying the same thing for many years past, but Mr. Bonar Law is the first leader of the Unionist party who has openly proclaimed the policy of taxing colonial goods as a device for binding the Empire together. It is true that he has since declared that colonial wheat is not to be taxed, but there are other colonial products besides wheat, and hitherto, in spite of repeated requests for information, Mr. Bonar Law has refused to say whether he will or will not tax colonial flour, meat, bacon, cheese, butter, and fruit.

The truth is that in this, as in so many other matters, the

tariff reform leaders are between the devil and the deep sea. If they avow openly that they mean to tax these important colonial products, the self-governing dominions will bluntly reply: 'We want none of your preference'; if, on the other hand, they declare for free admission for colonial cheese, butter, and bacon, English farmers will indignantly ask: 'Where is the protection that was promised to us?' It is interesting to record that in the 'Fortnightly Review' for August 1912, Mr. F. E. Smith, one of the most active members of the little group that has hitherto directed the policy of the Unionist Party, said: 'There must be a tariff designed to help agriculture just as much as manufacturing industry.' But if the tariff is going to help agriculture it must raise the price of foodstuffs above the price that would have been reached without a tariff. To propose a food tax, and to promise that it shall have no tendency to raise food prices, is to play a trick either upon the farmer or upon the artisan.

An equally insoluble dilemma arises with regard to the question of raw materials. Mr. Austen Chamberlain and other tariff reformers are never tired of declaring that they do not intend to tax raw materials; but they take the most scrupulous care never to specify what is a raw material. Again and again they have been challenged to say whether leather, paper, pig iron, steel bars, cotton yarn, etc. etc., are raw materials or manufactured articles. They never reply; because they know that the moment an answer is given to these crucial questions the man who buys one of these commodities as a raw material will be in bitter opposition to the man who sells the same article as his completed product.

It is because of these fundamental difficulties that tariff reformers are opposed to a referendum. They realise that their power to use vague phrases with a double meaning will disappear the moment an actual tariff is tabled. As soon as the country sees the list of articles to be taxed and the rates of taxation, from that instant all talk of hitting the foreigner and binding the Empire together will cease, and every tariff reformer in the country will be discussing how the proposed tariff will help or hinder him. Realising this, the men who pull the wires of the tariff-reform party are determined not to give the country the opportunity of considering a tariff in advance; their purpose is to draw up their own tariff in secret

and rush it through Parliament under circumstances which will make resistance impossible.

Such a denial of the right of self-government would in any case be indefensible, but the dishonesty of the scheme is rendered more flagrant by the fact that among its promoters are men who are daily engaged in denouncing the Liberals for refusing to submit Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment to the judgment of the electors. In the volume of essays above referred to is a contribution by Mr. F. E. Smith significantly entitled 'The Rights of the People,' in which the following passage occurs :

'There is much to be said for a democratic system of government, as there is much to be urged on behalf of an autocratic system. There is nothing whatever that can be urged in favour of a constitution which, under the name of democracy, has in effect concentrated every faculty of government in the hands of a small clique which has cheated the people of every vestige of effective control over the national policy.'

Yet Mr. F. E. Smith—although, by the way, he admitted in the 'Times' of the 19th of December 1910 that Mr. Balfour's 'statesmanlike declaration' was the cause of the Unionist successes in Lancashire and Cheshire—is now opposed to submitting tariff reform to a referendum. That means that it is now his policy, and the policy of those Tories who think with him, to scrape together a majority by any means they can, so that they in turn may constitute that 'small clique' in whose hands will be concentrated every faculty of government over a people who will have been cheated of every vestige of effective control over the national policy. The very crime which Mr. F. E. Smith and his friends impute to the Radicals they are themselves scheming to commit.

That is how our politicians play their game—with the inevitable result that nobody trusts them. That may seem a hard sentence, but if anyone doubts its accuracy let him ask himself two questions : First, is he prepared to believe the statements made by his political opponents ? Secondly, does he expect the orators of his own side when dealing with a controversial point to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth ? There is no doubt as to the answers that must be given to these questions. It is notorious that under our party system politicians are not expected either by friend or foe to

speaking the whole truth. To tell a blunt lie is still happily condemned, but there is no general condemnation of the concealment of essential facts, or of the distortion of facts and figures, or of the use of arguments in a political speech which the speaker would be ashamed to use in private because of their underlying dishonesty. On the contrary, what is condemned is the conduct of the man who blurts out the truth to the embarrassment of his political leaders.

No such standard is to be found in any other branch of English life. There is doubtless plenty of dishonesty in all the various relations of men with one another, but nowhere except in politics is dishonesty recognised as a necessary part of the system. On the contrary there is nothing on which successful business firms so pride themselves as their scrupulous honesty; while throughout the world English merchants command respect and win success because they are honest.

Whence then does this contrast arise? If the problem be examined closely it will be seen that, whereas the object of the business man is to give his customers something that they want, so that they may come to him for more, the object of the politician is to glorify his own party and discredit his opponents, so that he and his friends may enjoy the sweets of office and their opponents may be consigned to the shades of opposition. In saying this it is not for a moment intended to deny that there are many politicians who place the attainment of their ideals far above the question of office for themselves or their party. But they are exceptions; they stand outside the working of the ordinary political machine. From the leaders of the party down to the humblest local canvasser the object of the machine is office. It may be that office is desired for patriotic rather than for pecuniary reasons; to give effect to schemes for benefiting the nation rather than to secure emoluments or honours for the individual politician. In many cases this is so, but it would be hypocritical to pretend to believe that the personal motive does not play a very large, and perhaps the largest, part in political activities. Those who have been at all behind the scenes will in their franker moments relate how easily politicians, who give trouble to the Whips, can be brought to heel by the promise of a job or a title. The same influence runs right through the machine, and most members of Parliament find that one of their heaviest

tasks is dealing with the incessant applications from political supporters who want some kind of honour or job for themselves in return for their services to the party. This is not a new feature of our political life ; it always has existed ; but it tends to become more dangerous owing to the enormous increase of government patronage as a result of the so-called social-reform legislation of the present Parliament.

In laying bare these facts, which are too often glossed over by polite euphemisms, it is not here intended to pronounce any moral judgment on the large army of politicians, both officers and privates, who are thus playing for their own hands. Unless the majority of human beings were normally playing for their own hands there would speedily be an end to human progress. The whole point is that, while the motive of self-interest in matters of commerce and industry is admirably directed by law and custom to the advancement of the common weal, in the working of politics under our present party system there is no relation of any kind between the public interest of the nation and the private interest of the politician. If a business man misrepresents the character of the goods he has to sell he risks the loss of his business, and may in extreme cases find himself in the dock ; but if a politician misrepresents his opponents he adds to his popularity with his own party and increases his chances of political advancement. Nor will any penalty attach to his conduct if he loads with fulsome praise a measure which subsequently proves to be unpopular. It is true that his party will suffer from the unpopularity of the measure, but he will not suffer as an individual for having praised it. On the contrary, if instead of praising it he had frankly declared a disbelief in its merits he would at once have been rapped over the knuckles either by the party whip or by his local caucus, and if he had persisted in his criticisms he would have lost his seat. Thus, while in commerce there is constant pressure exercised upon individuals by the community in favour of honesty, in politics there is an even more insistent pressure exercised by the party in favour of dishonesty.

The contrast is not accidental. It is due to the fact that the ethics of commerce are the ethics of peace ; whereas the ethics of politics, under our two-party system, are the ethics of war.

The defence most frequently put forward by the apologists of

the party system is that it maintains public interest in political life and thus preserves the country from the corruption which would ensue if politicians were not constantly subject to hostile criticism. The conclusive answer is that these ends are not achieved. Both in the United States and in Canada the bi-party system—inherited from England—is in full working, and in both countries there is shameless political corruption. In our own country happily the standard at the moment is higher. Votes are not now bought in England for hard cash as they were in the eighteenth century ; but they are exchanged for promises of employment and for titles of honour. The distinction is a very fine one, and it is clear from the recent controversy in connexion with the Marconi contract that even now our politicians are ready to impute financial corruption to one another. A more general and almost equally unpleasant revelation of the attitude of members of Parliament to monetary considerations was afforded by the manner in which members, who had voluntarily undertaken to render unpaid service to the nation, voted salaries of £400 a year to themselves without consulting the electors, and without even the formality of an Act of Parliament. It is impossible in face of such facts as these to contend that the bi-party system preserves the country from the danger of corruption.

Another favourite argument is that without the driving force of the party system the country would never get anything done. The answer is that with that driving force things are done that the country does not want, and the things that it does want are left undone. In the past few months we have seen the House of Commons deliberately setting aside the Mental Deficiency Bill while pressing on with the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. Yet it is notorious that the former measure meets with almost universal approval, while the latter is only desired by an insignificant fraction of the nation.

Nor is it possible to defend the bi-party system as a means of securing good administrators. That our ministers are on the whole fairly well chosen may be admitted, but it is obvious that a better selection could be made if the selecting authority had the whole House of Commons to choose from instead of little more than half. It is almost equally obvious that the choice of ministers must be hampered by the necessity

for finding men who for the sake of office are willing to sink their convictions on a multitude of questions disconnected with the office to which they aspire. For example—to take purely imaginary cases—an ideal war minister cannot be appointed unless he will promise to profess belief in Irish Home Rule, while promotion to the Admiralty may be made to depend on views with regard to the Welsh Church.

The assumption that members of the Cabinet must necessarily have a common policy is a delusion bred of our long subjection to the party system. The necessity for the pretended unity of the Cabinet is merely the outcome of the warfare between the two parties. If that warfare ceased the King's ministers might—so far at any rate as legislation is concerned—openly express divergent opinions on the many questions on which they now in public profess to be unanimous. The House of Commons and the country would then have the advantage of hearing the case honestly stated by competent men. But we cannot get rid of party warfare as long as that warfare determines the succession to a group of offices worth several hundred thousand pounds a year, and carrying in addition an immense amount of varied patronage and great personal distinction.

There lies the root of our trouble, and though the evils of the party system would be mitigated by the introduction of proportional representation and the referendum, we shall not get rid of those evils until we have devised some means of choosing the King's ministers on other grounds than their loyalty to a political faction.

That the problem is not insoluble is proved by the fact that the Swiss, the most democratic people in Europe, have solved it. The ministers of the Swiss republic are elected by the legislature on their personal qualifications, and hold office independently of the acceptance or rejection of any legislative projects they may put forward. The legislature thus retains control over legislation, and in turn the people retain control over the legislature through the right to demand that any particular measure shall be referred to a popular vote before it becomes law.

Why a similar constitution should be inapplicable to this country it is not easy to see. Our present party system is an accidental survival from the civil war of the seventeenth century. It serves no need of English life ; while in its main

features it is an insult to human intelligence. There is not a single commercial company or voluntary society in England, or in any other country, that would dream of choosing its board of directors or its executive committee as the British Cabinet is chosen — namely, by the varying vicissitudes of a never-ending political fight, in which two parties are engaged in depreciating one another, and deluding the electors, by every art of the pamphleteer and the platform rhetorician. The only people who profit by this civil war are the headquarter staffs of the two opposing armies and a miscellaneous collection of camp followers. The conditions which have made its long survival possible are now passing away. As long as the politics of the country remained in the hands of the upper and middle classes, party warfare served as an agreeable diversion to the dull routine of ordinary life ; while the gentle swing of the pendulum provided a fairly even distribution of the prizes of office between the rival groups. These conditions no longer exist. The most insistent fact in modern politics is the emergence of the Labour party. That party proclaims its indifference to the issues that divide the older parties, and frankly declares that its object is to use the power of the State solely for the benefit of the wage-earning classes.

On the issue thus raised, and on the still broader question of State interference with economic forces two views are possible. There is the view that such interference generally does more harm than good ; there is also the view that a wise government may by carefully devised measures so guide the industrial and commercial development of the country as to greatly improve the conditions of life for the wage-earning classes, without drying up the sources of wealth or multiplying the number of idlers. Both views can be defended. What is not defensible is the present system under which two sets of politicians conduct their rivalry for office by bidding, against one another, for the votes of men who have been taught to believe that the State possesses a bottomless purse, and that every ill that human flesh is heir to can be swept away by a few Acts of Parliament. Pages of this Review could be filled with examples of the way in which politicians on both sides have assented to proposals fundamentally at variance with their general convictions, solely from fear lest the opposing party should proclaim on the hustings

'Codlin's the friend, not Short.' There is no limit to the mischief that may be inflicted on a nation which permits its laws to be made on such a principle as this. Happily our country—thanks to industry and commerce, not to politics—is immensely wealthy and can stand much bleeding; but that is no reason why we should continue a system which is immoral in motive and harmful in tendency.

The way of escape lies through the frank recognition of the fact that our eighteenth-century constitution is unsuited for twentieth-century democratic needs. Mere tinkering with the Second Chamber, as the Unionists propose, would effect nothing. The essential reform is to make ministerial tenure of office independent of the fate of legislative measures. This can best be done by providing that the House of Commons shall itself elect the Cabinet by a system of proportional voting so that this executive committee may be a true epitome of the whole House—each member so elected to retain his seat in the Cabinet until dismissed by a vote of the House. In addition, some machinery must be set up to enable the electors themselves to declare Aye or No, whether they will accept any legislative measure which excites keen controversy.

There is no reason to fear that, under such a constitution, membership of the House of Commons would lose its attractiveness. On the contrary the attractions would be increased; for every member would have as good a chance as at present of himself obtaining office; while he would in addition possess the privilege of helping to select the Cabinet. Even more important is the new freedom he would acquire—the freedom to express his honest convictions on any measure before Parliament without fear of depriving himself or his friends of a ministerial salary. Under such conditions the House of Commons would become a real debating assembly, a true council of the nation, where national problems would be threshed out, for subsequent reference, if occasion should require it, to the direct vote of the electors themselves. To be a member of such an assembly would be a worthy object of any man's ambition.

THE EDITOR.

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THE EUROPEAN UNREST

1. **Germany and its Evolution in Modern Times.** By HENRI LICHTENBERGER, Maître de Conférences at the Sorbonne. Translated by A. M. LUDOVICI. Constable and Co. 1913.
2. **Die Albanesen und die Grossmächte.** By Dr. V. GEORGEVITCH, formerly Prime Minister of Servia. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1913.
3. **Le Problème Albanais.** By BALKANICUS. Paris: Augustin Challamel. 1913.
4. **L'Albanie et les Albanais.** By G. L. JARAY. *Revue Politique et Parlementaire*. Paris. Feb. 1913.
5. **The German Emperor and the Peace of the World.** By A. H. FRIED. Hodder and Stoughton. 1912.
6. **The Evolution of Modern Germany.** By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. T. Fisher Unwin. 1908.

IT seems probable that there will be no further armed conflict in Europe as the immediate result of the Balkan war. It was never very likely that there would be, though a few weeks ago the relations between Russia and Austria were severely strained. But neither Power was really prepared to bring the controversy to the tremendous test of an armed struggle. Both at Vienna and St. Petersburg the sovereigns and foreign ministers are anxious to maintain peace as long as

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possible, as indeed are responsible statesmen in all European countries. The days of making war, as Emile Ollivier was ready to do in 1870, 'd'un cœur léger,' are over. Nobody would go to war with a light heart, or take a single gratuitous step towards the severing of any one of the precarious threads on which the peace of the greater Powers hangs suspended.

As we write, the Albanian question, which is one of the most disturbing factors in the situation, has momentarily narrowed itself to manageable dimensions. Russia, it appears, has declined to support the Servian and Montenegrin claim either to Skutari, or to the territorial occupation of a strip of coast along the Adriatic, or to the possession of that large slice of the Albanian hinterland which would carry the Serb frontier as far as Lake Ochrida. Neither the ancient Dyrrachium, nor Skodra with all its famous memories for the Illyrian peoples, will pass to the Balkan allies. The Powers, on the advice of the Conference of Ambassadors, have agreed to reconstitute the Albanian province as an autonomous principality. To Servia will be granted an economic thoroughfare through the mountains to the sea with an outlet, for trading purposes only, at some convenient harbour, probably San Giovanni di Medua. Montenegro may be allowed an extension of her frontiers inland, but she will not be permitted to spread herself, any more than Servia, along the coast. The Powers were unable to prevent the war. They may, possibly, succeed in keeping matters quiet while the Balkan States assimilate their conquests and the partitioned territory settles down to its new conditions.

But the settlement is not likely to be permanent. In the Balkan region itself it is scarcely possible to conceive of any reconstruction which will not leave occasion for further dissension and further diplomatic and perhaps military activities. The passions which have been roused by this last crusade of Christendom upon the Moslems will not be put to sleep; ambitions, long cherished and temporarily baulked, will revive and assert themselves. The Slav victories in Macedonia and Thrace have done something more than remodel the map of the South-eastern peninsula; they have altered the balance of European relationships, and closely affected the whole international system. They bring

a new element of disturbance into that agitated and unstable fabric.

Nor have they even relieved us of that specialised 'Eastern question' which has so long perplexed the Cabinets and the Foreign Offices. This will be with us still though in new forms. For Macedonia we shall have Albania; for perennial quarrels between Turkey and the minor States we shall have the bickerings of these kingdoms with Austria, and a rivalry between that Power and Russia not less persistent than in the past. The war has awakened some aspirations which it has not gratified; it has aroused apprehensions which will not for long be allayed; and it has set up a ferment which must react not only upon the Balkan peoples themselves but upon others whose sentiments and ideas are of more importance to the world.

A European Congress will no doubt decide that Albania is henceforth to be an independent principality under the joint protection of the Powers, with limits fixed in the Treaty, and with the usual guarantees for good government and religious freedom. But the sequel to the Treaty of Berlin has shown us the value of these solemn instruments and undertakings. The elaborate provisions of 1878 did not prevent Macedonia from being torn by anarchy and civil war, from being the battleground of hostile sects and nationalities, and the fruitful source of ambitions and animosities which culminated in the combined attack on Turkey last autumn. All that happened in this unfortunate province may be reproduced in a form no whit less perilous and threatening in Albania. Something more than protocols and ambassadorial signatures will be needed to confer peace, order, and unity upon the district. For this wild region of rugged hills and sequestered valleys has not for centuries been conquered, or settled, or united. It is the last uncivilised country in Europe, a tract which is still partly unexplored, imperfectly surveyed,* and almost untouched by modern progress, an island of primitive savagery which has lasted right down to the twentieth century. The majority of the inhabitants are in a condition

* M. Jaray in his article 'L'Albanie et les Albanais' (*Revue Politique et Parlementaire*, Feb. 1913) says that even the excellent maps of the Austrian General-Staff are incorrect in some important details of North Albanian topography.

which rather resembles that of the tribesmen of the Indian frontier, or of the Scottish Highlanders in the sixteenth century. At least this is true of the Gheg clans of the northern mountain district, though the Tosks of Epirus are more settled and urbane, and approach somewhat more nearly to the general standard of European culture.

With the northerners the old tribal particularism, as well as the fierce hatred of foreign influence, is as strong as ever. These mountaineers have never acknowledged, except in form, an external authority, nor have they ever been organised round a common political centre. The Turkish attempts to break up the tribal cohesion have been a complete failure. The belief of the Young Turks that the Albanian Mussulmans could be treated very much like the other Moslem populations of the Ottoman Empire, was a calamitous delusion. The mountaineers cannot be deprived of their traditional rights, their virtual independence, and of their social and personal privileges, except under such compulsion as Constantinople has never been able to apply to them effectively. Occasional raids and ruthless massacres are not sufficient to break their spirit.

'It is' [says M. Jaray, who has travelled through the country under the protection of the chiefs] 'only by force that they can be reduced to subjection; it would be necessary to pursue them to the depths of their mountain fortresses, to hold them down by military posts, to engage in a ferocious and merciless guerilla warfare. If any Power proposes to subdue the North Albanian tribes, the Mirdites, Malissori, Hasi, Liumiotes, and others, it must be prepared to encounter a desperate resistance. War is a pastime to these clansmen; their mobility is extraordinary, and their marksmanship is excellent; from the age of 15 they are accustomed to handling the rifle, and every male person is armed; and though ammunition is sometimes scarce there are always people who are interested in supplying it. If defeated they can always take refuge among their frowning crags and precipitous heights from which regular troops could only dislodge them at a heavy cost to themselves.'

No doubt a European Power could in the end succeed where Turkey failed, and impose its yoke upon that unconquered race from which sprang Alexander the Great, and Pyrrhus and Scanderbeg, and Mehemet Ali; but the enterprise would involve such sacrifices as hardly any War Department

could contemplate without misgiving. Austria required a campaign of three years and a force of a quarter of a million to pacify Bosnia and the Herzegovina ; and that in a *terrain* far less inhospitable than Albania, and among a people whose warlike qualities could not be compared to those of the Ghegs and the Tosks.

‘ Dans cette partie de la Turquie vit une race, une des plus pures d’Europe, proche parente de nos ancêtres de Gaule, au type physique très marqué, au sentiment national albanais très vif. C’est une nation agrippée depuis des siècles à ses montagnes, qui doit compter sans doute entre 1 million et 1 million et demi de fils énergiques, décidés et ayant un passé d’indépendance et de révolte. La réduire par la force n’est pas impossible ; mais quel conseil machiavélique ce serait de faire jouer ce rôle par la Serbie : que les Serbes permettent à un ami de leur pays de leur crier casse-cou ; veulent-ils dix ans de guérillas ? Ne pensent-ils pas que ce serait une manière facile pour leurs adversaires de peser par ce moyen sur toute leur vie nationale ? ’

So says M. Jaray ; but his friendly counsel is likely to be unheeded by the Serbs and Montenegrins. It is true that for the moment they may be compelled to acquiesce in the delimitation laid down by the Conference of Ambassadors, and in the purely economic right of transit to the sea. Neither Austria nor Italy will allow the Slav Power to establish itself on the Adriatic. It is because it commands the entrance to this body of waters that Albania has so long been an object of the keenest interest to the Adriatic Powers. They believe that those who hold Durazzo and Valona with sufficient force can bar the road alike to Trieste, to Fiume, and to Venice. Austria and Italy have been rivals for influence in Albania, as Austria and Russia were rivals in Macedonia. It was because of this rivalry that the Treaty of Berlin, so far as it applied to the European provinces of Turkey, was never properly carried into effect. For the same reason the Fitzmaurice proposal of 1880 was defeated by the opposition of Vienna. The suggestion was that a Greater Albania should be created, which would have been autonomous under a European guarantee. It is among the ironies of history that this scheme, rejected by Austria when it came from a neutral and friendly source, should have been put forward by the Austrian Foreign Office itself thirty-two years later. Count Berchtold’s Circular Note of the 14th of August 1912 revived

the Fitzmaurice programme, with extensions aiming at the creation of an autonomous Albania which would have included Old Servia and other Serb districts of the vilayets of Kossovo and Monastir.

The proposition came too late. By that time the Balkan League had been formed, and the allies saw in the Austrian proposal only one more attempt to rivet Islam upon Slav populations. The Berchtold Note merely intensified their resolve. It was the Albanians who had been the instruments of plunder and disorder in Macedonia under the Hamidian régime ; and at the very time that the Vienna idea of a Greater Albania was being rather helplessly canvassed in the confused councils of the European Foreign Offices and Chancelleries, some remarkably active steps towards bringing a Greater Albania into existence were being taken. When the intricate history of last year's events is unravelled it will perhaps be seen that the revolt of the Albanians had as much to do with precipitating the final movement of the Slav States as any other circumstance.

For nearly three years there had been severe guerilla fighting owing to the stupid and brutal attempts of the Young Turk régime to abolish the local privileges of the Albanians, establish a centralised system of government and law, and bring about the complete Ottomanisation of a country which had been partly Mohammedan but never in any real sense Turkish. By the summer of 1912 the brutalities of the Ottoman commanders had produced a temporary union of the North Albanian clans, and a combined revolt. In the middle of August the mountain chiefs, Isa Boletinatz, Bairam Sour, Ali Riza, Prenk Pasha, and others, led their men through the passes and poured down in force upon the valley of the Vardar. The Porte, which was massing all its best troops in Thrace to meet the Bulgarian menace, could offer no effectual resistance ; twenty thousand of the highlanders encamped about Uskub, took possession of the town, compelled the police and civil authorities to obey their orders, established Bairam Sour as governor of the district, and proceeded to make arrangements for levying taxes and carrying on the administration. They despatched an ultimatum to Constantinople demanding that an Imperial Commission should be sent to discuss terms of peace with them on the basis of the

recognition of their autonomy. Thus the Balkan war was begun by the Albanians while the Balkan allies were still hesitating ; and it was probably the advance of the confederated chiefs which caused King Nicholas to hasten events by plunging into hostilities. For in Montenegro they knew what was happening, and had no intention of allowing any part of the old Serb kingdom to be seized by the mountaineers. If Turkey was to be cleared out of the Illyrian lands it must be by Slav swords not by the Albanians, whether Moslems or Catholics.

So this episode, strange and romantic enough, passed almost unnoticed amid the greater drama which presently filled the stage. The exact details of the Serbo-Bulgarian campaign in Macedonia are unknown as yet, for no correspondents were allowed to go to the front, and we had only official reports of victories achieved by the Slav forces against great Turkish armies. But there were no great Turkish armies in the vilayets of Kossovo and Monastir ; it is very doubtful whether there were as many as eighty thousand Ottoman troops all told in the whole of Macedonia. Perhaps it may be found that the Servians about Uskub and Prishtina and in the Vardar valley found their opponents chiefly among such of these Albanian irregulars as were induced to support the Padishah when he was menaced by Christians and Serbs. One cannot be surprised in the circumstances that the resistance was half-hearted and the Servian successes achieved with unexpected ease.

Thanks to the Young Turks the Albanians have made some progress in acquiring a consciousness of nationality. But these various tribes, sundered by hereditary feuds, divided by religion, language, and race, these Illyrians, Epirotes, Slavs, Mohammedans, and Orthodox Greeks, are still far from being a nation, and it will be hard indeed to induce them to acknowledge the authority of a common government, or to give that government the means to enforce order without external assistance. The difficulty is aggravated by the action of the two greater Powers which have for many years been steadily at work endeavouring to extend their influence in the province. Austria has been the protector of the Catholic clergy in Albania, and has more than once brought pressure to bear upon Turkey to relieve them from Mohammedan intolerance ; she has

subsidised Catholic schools and Jesuit seminaries ; and she has laboured hard, by means of Austrian banking agencies, steamship companies, and mercantile firms, to acquire a commanding economic position in the more settled districts. Italy has been active in much the same fashion ; she too has her banks and shipping houses, her hospitals, schools, and Catholic missions, and she has the great advantage that Italian is the commercial language of the whole Adriatic coast. Neither party could endeavour to convert the ' autonomous ' State into a dependency or a protectorate without arousing the jealousy of the other. The Balkan Revolution has indeed done something to weaken the Triple Alliance ; for it leaves two of its members in a condition of latent rivalry over Albania which will need very careful handling if it is not to take an active form. When disorders break out among the Albanians and it becomes necessary for Austria on her own account, or as the mandatory of Europe, to keep the peace and protect imperilled Christians, diplomacy will be given some anxious tasks, and it can only be hoped that it will discharge them with more dexterity than it displayed in dealing with the long and squalid muddle of Macedonia.

Moreover, the forces which were in operation in Macedonia to thwart pacification will be at work in Albania. To the Montenegrins, Serbs, and Greeks, perhaps also to the Bulgarians, the ' autonomous ' principality will be a standing testimony to the incompleteness of their achievement in the crusade against Turkey. To the subjects of King Peter, Albania, like Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, is a part of *Servia irredenta*. They believe that their mission of racial regeneration and liberation is unaccomplished so long as a large Slav population is still under alien and Mohammedan rule. The Serbs are a people in that mood of roused and aspiring racial consciousness out of which in the nineteenth century grew united Germany and united Italy. In their view the goal of their endeavour will not be reached until the Illyrian Empire has been restored, and all the peoples of Serb blood and language, and all the lands from which they have been forcibly expelled, or in which they have been reduced to subjection, are united under the Servian Crown. It is an ambition which does not lack nobility, and it cannot be denied some justification ; for the Serbs alone of the South Slavonic populations have kept

alive their literary and historic traditions through the centuries of dispersion and servitude. But though patriotic, the design is full of peril at the present juncture, of peril to the Serbs themselves as well as to others. It is quite impossible that it should be carried out, even in part, without involving a collision of interests which must prove disastrous to the kingdom or disastrous to its neighbours. If it were to be accomplished it would be at the expense of Austria ; and that is naturally a process which Austria will resist by all the machinery of diplomacy or if necessary of war.

The character of the Serb pretensions is very clearly exhibited in the memorial presented by the Servian delegates to the recent Conference of London last January. In this remarkable document* it is pointed out that the Serbs have claims, which date back to the fourteenth century, to Skutari and all the neighbouring country as well as to a large part of Northern and Central Albania :

‘The district of Ipek, Djakovo, and Detschani is among all Serb lands the most sacred for the Servian nation. It is impossible to conceive that any Montenegrin or Servian Government would surrender this territory to the Albanians or any others, least of all at a moment when the Serb armies have possessed themselves of the land after a sanguinary conflict against the Turks and Albanians. In this matter the Serb people will make no concession, nor is any Serb administration in a position to listen to any compromise upon the subject.’

And again :

‘Can Europe demand from us that we are to hand back to the Albanians those districts wrongfully seized from the Serbs in the past, and now reconquered by our arms? If Europe does insist upon such an injustice, the Serb people will refuse to acknowledge it.’

The Serbs, it is added, are a civilised people, and they have the right to ask that they shall be allowed to exercise their influence over the semi-barbarous Albanians by resuming possession of the lands to which they have historic rights, and into which the Albanian element was introduced by usurpation and force and the selfish policy of the Turks.

* The full text, in German, is published by Dr. Georgevitch in ‘Die Albanesen und die Groszmächte,’ p. 157 seq.

'In the interests of our nation and in that of Europe we must insist that our historical, moral, and intellectual rights shall be respected.'

Now these historical and moral rights of the Serbs are not limited to Skutari and Northern Albania. Wherever a Serb tongue speaks the South Slavonic language, though he write it in Latin or Cyrillic or Arabic characters, though he be Catholic or even Mohammedan in religion,* there is the Servian fatherland. This is a principle that would render valid a claim to the Turkish provinces annexed by Austria, and as a matter of fact there is hardly a Servian who does not hold that the seizure by the Dual Monarchy of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a wrong to the Slav peoples for which expiation will eventually be required. But the 'Illyrian idea' goes further. It includes Croatia and all the portion of the Hungarian banat in which the South Slavonians form the majority of the population. It will be completely realised when all the ten millions of Serbo-Croats are formed into a single nation, including those who are to-day subjects of the Dual Monarchy.

This is the first consequence of the Balkan war, and in itself it has worked a prodigious change upon the balance of the European system. For Turkey is not the only Power which has been defeated during the past six months. Austria, though she has fought no battles and lost no lives, has also sustained serious reverses, and finds herself badly weakened. It is not merely that her *Drang nach Osten* is definitely checked, and her thirty-five years' effort to open a road to the Aegean brought to the ground. The long intrigue over Macedonia has ended in futility; the Servians are at Uskub, the Greeks and Bulgars at Salonica. That is a blow for Austrian prestige, a painful indication of the failure of her calculations, a shattering of the edifice built up with elaborate pains since the Treaty of Berlin.

But there is more than this. The successes of the Balkan League have placed a formidable Slav Power upon the south of the Danube. It remains to be seen how the new confederacy will develop. It may be that it will go to pieces as rapidly as

* The Moslem begs of Bosnia are Serbs by race who were forcibly converted to Islam by the Turks.

it arose, and that Bulgars, Greeks, and Serbs will presently fall back upon those national and religious animosities which so long prevented a combined movement against Turkey. But that is a contingency on which Austrian statesmen cannot at present calculate. They are bound to consider the other alternative. They must recognise that in their southern neighbours they have an association of energetic peoples, flushed with success, fired by a roused racial self-consciousness, who have proved their capacity in war, and who are able to bring into the field half a million soldiers of as fine a fighting strain as any in Europe, well trained, well equipped, and organised in the best modern fashion.

If these nations choose to act together they must be formidable to any opponent ; but to Austria they are doubly or trebly formidable. For it is possible that they might be drawn into the orbit of the gigantic Slavonic Power whose millions impinge upon Austria's north-eastern frontier. Thanks to careful and self-restrained diplomacy at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and the personal influence of the Sovereigns, the crisis has passed over without the catastrophe which at one moment seemed almost imminent, and the accord of the Powers has been maintained. But the recent mobilisations, as burdensome almost as a war, have told their own tale. Austria must always be conscious of the weight of the Slav world, and she can never relax her guard even against a friendly and pacific Russia.

What would be the situation if Russia were hostile and aggressive, and if she had so arranged matters as to combine the Balkan peoples in her favour ? Those peoples have allies within the Dual *enclave*. The enemies of Austria-Hungary are partly of her own household ; and the regeneration of the South Slavs will render it more difficult than ever to maintain the German and Magyar supremacy over all the Slavonic peoples who form the actual majority of her population. And if she were called upon to meet these new nations-in-arms there would be many soldiers in her service who would sympathise with the racial and political aspirations of the enemy.

It is true that there are the widest differences, ethnological, linguistic and religious, between the eight or nine millions of the Monarchy's Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks, the eight millions of its Poles and Ruthenians, the five or six millions of

its Serbo-Croats and Slovenes, and the three or four millions of its Wallachians. Yet they are not more deeply divided than one would have said the Bulgars, Serbs, and Greeks were less than twelve months ago. A common consciousness of racial identity as against the other stocks of the world has drawn them together and enabled them to act in unison; and so it might happen in the hour of trial for Austria. Assuredly the philologist and the historian can give a hundred reasons why the peoples of Bohemia, of Galicia, and of the Lower Danube should not cohere for any political purpose, but should on the contrary continue to be kept asunder and apart as they have always been. Even so it seemed at one time incredible that the half-Frisian or half-Wendish Germans of Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg and the Mark of Brandenburg would ever join hands with Swabians and Thuringians. Even so the shrewdest of European statesmen in the early nineteenth century continued to regard Italy as 'a geographical expression' and could not contemplate a real union of the Sicilian and the Calabrian with the Piedmontese and the Savoyard. The renascence of Slavonic racial consciousness may work greater marvels still, and expose the loosely-jointed and highly artificial organisation of the Hapsburg Empire to perils which may threaten its existence as a political entity.

This is the reaction of the Balkan war upon world-politics, and it is felt acutely not merely in Vienna, but in St. Petersburg, in Berlin, and in Paris. The net result is that Austria is in a far worse position than before to stem the advancing tide of Slavdom. Not only is her own *Drang nach Osten* checked but she may need all her energies to hold back a new *Drang nach Westen* of the Eastern peoples. It follows that as a member of the Triple Alliance, and for the main purposes of that League, her efficacy is substantially diminished. Germany can no longer count upon using the greater part of the Austrian army for operations upon the Russian frontier in the event of a European conflict. If unhappily a contest should arise between the Triple and the Dual Alliance the hands of Germany's chief ally would be hampered by the necessity of guarding against the Southern danger and by her internal difficulties. Germany must trust mainly to her own resources to ward off the assault alike from the East and the West.

It is the recognition of this fact which has caused the Germans

to embark upon a new military programme of unexampled magnitude. German policy for the past three decades has been dominated by two impulses, the Will to Power and the Will to Live. It is the former which has fostered the ambition to create a mighty navy, to find suitable outlets for the colonising and mercantile energies of the nation in Asia and Africa, to exploit the Near East and the Mediterranean. But in the midst of her ambitions and her eagerness to play a great part in *Weltpolitik*, there is always a chill of fear at the heart of Germania. She has never quite forgotten the Thirty Years War and the Napoleonic conquest, and is always conscious of her exposed situation between the Slavonic and the Gallic menace. She looks East and she sees the Autocracy that can draw five millions of soldiers from an inexhaustible reservoir of humanity ; she glances West, across the Rhine and the Vosges, at the most brilliant and spirited of all the civilised peoples, on whom she has inflicted an unforgivable injury ; she knows that her enemy of the centuries is equipped with a warlike panoply hardly less weighty than her own ; and she is aware that the Autocracy and the Republic are allies.

Against the danger of a concerted attack she has endeavoured to guard since 1879, first by the alliance with Austria and then by the Triple Alliance. But Tripoli and the Albanian settlement may not render it easier for Italy to act with her northern neighbour ; and Austria, as we have seen, may be entangled in the net of her own troubles. Hence the German Government has resolved to bring her active army in peace time to the total of nearly 900,000 men, so that at the outbreak of the possible war she would be largely independent of Austrian aid. When the new Army Law has taken effect the German General Staff would hope to have sufficient forces in Poland to hold back a Russian inroad, pending the slow mobilisation of the Muscovite millions, and still be strong enough in the West to cross the frontier and break down the French resistance at the very outset by swift and terrible blows. On such grounds the Imperial Government deems itself justified in exacting from the capital and industry of the Empire the tremendous supplementary war tax it proposes to levy. The fifty million estimate is the cost to Germany—and by no means the whole cost—of the victories of the Balkan States.

France pays no less heavily. The Three Years Service she

designs to lay upon her population is a 'blood-tax' such as no one of the greater peoples has yet consented to endure. For the first time the nation-in-arms conception will become a reality; for whereas, even under the new system, half the men of Germany will still escape military service of all but a nominal kind, France will in the future drill and train practically her whole male population. Ninety-four per cent. of the men of France will enter the ranks of the active army, and spend the three best years of their adolescence in camp and barrack. To such lengths does the *élan patriotique* carry the French people; so heavy is the burden they are prepared to bear in the haughty resolve to vindicate their right to a leading place in the family of the nations. Nor can there be any doubt that M. Poincaré in formulating this policy of sacrifice and determined effort has correctly expressed the sentiment of the vast majority of Frenchmen. The acrid dissensions in domestic politics do not extend to this question. The Socialist Radicals are not less anxious to establish the Three Years System than the Constitutional Republicans and the reactionary groups. M. Clemenceau supports the military reforms no less earnestly than the late Prime Minister. France is as united as she is ever likely to be on any question in her determination to meet what she deems the challenge of her ancient rival, and to develop her military power to the utmost extent of which her numbers and her resources are capable.

It is impossible for the observer in countries less exposed to the tension and strain of these processes to deny that there is some justification for these sudden increases of armaments, disastrous and deplorable as they may be. When we consider the situation of Germany, wedged between two great military Powers, one far superior to herself in numbers and territory, the other with a military organisation almost equal to her own, we find it easy to understand the nervousness which has caused her to strengthen her defences even on this enormous scale. Nor can we blame France for the instant and determined vigour of her response. A quarrel is less dangerous when one party is obviously in the wrong than when both may claim with some warrant that they are entirely in the right.

Happily there is no definite quarrel between the greater Powers at present; on the contrary, in the difficult transactions

of the past few months all have shown themselves conciliatory and moderate. Yet the international situation is unquestionably perilous. The truth is, as we pointed out in the pages of this Review at the beginning of the year, Continental Europe is still in a transitory and amorphous condition. Over a large part of the area the nation-making stage, so long closed for ourselves that we have forgotten all about it, is far from complete. Europe in the twentieth century is gathering up the loose ends of the eighteenth and nineteenth, and is expiating such political crimes or blunders as the partitions of Poland, the Congress of Vienna, the Treaty of Berlin, and the gross mismanagement of the affairs of Turkey. The political boundaries of several countries are the result of a series of errors, makeshifts, and temporary compromises. Neither France, Germany, Russia, Austria, or Italy feels satisfied or safe. The long struggles between the Latin and Teutonic policies, and between the Germanic and Slavonic aspirations, have been suspended rather than concluded. Many years or perhaps generations may elapse before the continental states-system can be rearranged on a basis stable enough to endure ; and it is perhaps unduly sanguine to hope that the consummation can be reached without some further appeals to the *ultima ratio* of organised force. Wars, we may hope, will be infrequent ; but it is vain to expect any speedy termination to the kind of bloodless but not harmless warfare which prevails at this moment, the warfare in which vast armies and fleets are ranged against one another though not in actual combat. Armed diplomacy is more tolerable than armed action ; and statesmanship may perhaps be content for the time if the units of force can be manœuvred on the international chess-board alone instead of the battlefield.

But can this deeply rooted dissidence of interests and opinions be confined within such comparatively harmless limits ? The question cannot be answered with complete confidence. It is undeniable that the European situation is dangerous and its perils will be intensified by the enormous additions to the armaments of Germany and France. The prospect of a conflict between those two great Powers at no distant date cannot be dismissed as fantastic or even highly improbable. France, it may be held, is less responsible than

her rival for the existing tension ; but it is perhaps from France rather than Germany that an effort may be expected to relieve it by violent means. Germany has less inducement to force the crisis to a solution, though she might not be reluctant to seize upon any excuse offered her to cut the knot by the sword. She is in reality more afraid of Russia than France ; for the modern Teuton intellect has a quite pathetic belief in bigness, and France is not growing bigger. To quote Professor Lichtenberger :

‘ German public opinion considers that France has ceased to be a formidable rival to Germany. Germans regard her as definitely out-distanced and incapable of ever again being in a position to reopen the struggle for supremacy with any chance of success. They consider it proved that the superhuman effort made by France to create for herself a military force as strong as that of Germany has failed. The ever-increasing difference between the population of France and that of Germany ensures the military superiority of the latter with even greater certainty. Moreover, the decrease in the number of marriages and in the birth-rate in France are symptoms of a deep-seated evil, of a dangerous exhaustion, which deprives her of all chance of regaining lost ground. . . . Conservative Germany regards France with a suspicion tinged with contempt. She is looked upon as infected to the marrow with the poison of revolution, given over to the hands of Jacobins and Socialists, condemned to inefficient government and chaotic administration. . . . She is considered a nation undermined by decadence whose vitality is too low to allow of her entering boldly into international politics, and who is gradually falling to the position of a second-rate Power.’

Time, in fact, is on the side of Germany. In equal measure it is telling against France. Exasperated by the insolence and the scorn of their neighbours, the French are tormented by the well-grounded belief that the progress of the years will only aggravate their numerical inferiority. Germany has added twenty-five millions to her inhabitants since the war of 1870, France barely two millions. The population of the Republic is stationary at thirty-nine millions, that of the Empire is increasing by four millions annually. In a few years the latter will be more than double that of the former. The strain of the present competition imposes a far more crushing burden upon the lesser nation. While France is taking her whole adolescent manhood into the ranks Germany has still nearly half her contingent free for the demands of

industry. It would not be surprising if some Frenchmen were asking themselves whether this intolerable situation is to endure indefinitely, or whether it would not be better to dare all risks in order to make an end of it. Many of them are convinced that if the conflict is inevitable it had better come soon. They insist that they are stronger now relatively to Germany, or they will be as soon as the Three Years Law has taken effect and a sufficient supply of good ammunition has been procured, than they are ever likely to be again. They think that their military establishment is better than that of their rivals in equipment, in organisation, in artillery, in air-craft, and in the spirit and courage of the troops; they hold that the French army is just now 'at the top of its form,' and has reached such a pitch of perfection that it is more likely to deteriorate than improve.

In effect, they say, the psychological moment is at hand. Why wait till it has passed, till the *élan* of the people has been dulled, till the disparity of numbers has grown more marked? If France must once more dare everything to maintain her old place among the nations, and assert her prestige before she sinks down to the level of Belgium or Holland, let her deliver a bold stroke to release herself from insecurity and dependence, before it is too late. No one who follows the current of opinion in France can have failed to note that there is a growing tendency to listen to such desperate, yet not wholly unreasonable, suggestions. A war between France and Germany is a calamity which we should prefer to regard as 'unthinkable'; but those who take a dispassionate view of international relations are bound to keep it in their thoughts, and to face the truth, that it is less improbable than it was in 1911 or in 1905 or at any other time since the Peace of 1871. It could hardly be averted if the Triple Entente were, what it is not, an offensive and defensive alliance, and if the Republic could be certain of involving both Russia and England in the circle of her active enmities.

Fortunately for Europe and for France herself, Russia is evidently resolved to keep the peace as long as possible. Neither the humiliations suffered at the hands of the Central Powers in 1909, nor the temptations opened by the Balkan war, have moved the Czar and his ministers to provocative action. Russia could hardly avoid coming to the assistance

of France if that country were the victim of attack by two or more of the Powers. But if the attack were brought about by aggression from the other side, Russia's course would be more difficult to determine. Could she in any case hold back if once her ally were engaged in hostilities? That is a question which French statesmen are probably not able to answer to their own satisfaction. The foreign policy of Russia is invested with an uncertainty which on the whole is salutary. It is perhaps as well that France cannot reckon with any confidence on the attitude of her Imperial partner in a conflict which France herself had provoked.

More important, at any rate, to us, is the policy of this country. What part will England take in that readjustment of weights and forces in Europe which may lead to consequences so grave? How do the rival armaments of the Great Powers affect us? It is clear that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government they touch us very little. There is no sign that ministers contemplate the eventuality of employing British troops in any armed conflict which is at all likely to arise on the continent of Europe. On the contrary, there are strong indications that they have practically dismissed this contingency from their calculations; for if they had such a possibility in their minds some reflection of it would naturally be found in their Army Estimates. But Colonel Seely's statement of the 19th of March seems to have been carefully framed to exclude all such ideas. There is no suggestion in it of any increase of our military establishment such as would render it more capable of taking part in offensive movements abroad; and there was more than one phrase which seemed to restrict the expeditionary army to extra-European enterprise. Such was the guarded reference to airships:

'The British army at the present time does not require Zeppelins. Our army is an expeditionary army. To use a Zeppelin for the purpose of, let us say, the reinforcement of Egypt, or the sending of a large body of men to the frontier of India, operations that are not very likely, but against which we are obliged to guard—to use a Zeppelin in these instances is obviously impossible. This gigantic engine could not be taken there, or if it could be it would be with the utmost difficulty, and the provision of hydrogen for it would be an almost impossible problem. We therefore decided

that the army should have small dirigibles, which could be packed up in boxes, put on motor lorries, or on ships, and sent wherever they are required.'

Here the War Minister almost went out of his way to repudiate the hypothesis of a British expedition to Belgium or Northern France; for it is clear that in such a case Zeppelins *would* be valuable, since they would not have to be packed in boxes but could fly on their own wings to the scene of action.

More direct testimony to the same effect was supplied by the Prime Minister himself. In the debate on the Address he was questioned by Lord Hugh Cecil as to the rumour that the Government 'had given an assurance which, in the contingency 'of a great European war,' might involve us in a heavy military liability. Mr. Asquith replied: 'I may say at once that this 'is not true.' This concise statement produced a considerable impression throughout Europe, and was received with exultation in Germany and some disappointment in France. It has very usefully disposed of some vague apprehensions and unwarranted hopes, though it does not in itself contain any novel information. It has been known, and has been several times stated on behalf of the English Foreign Office, that there has been no formal military agreement between this country and France. We have never pledged ourselves to assist the French if they go to war; nor is there any instrument in writing which enlarges the *entente* into an alliance. All that has happened is that in 1905 and again in 1911 the British Government gave the French Foreign Office a verbal assurance that if France were made the object of attack in consequence of circumstances arising out of the Morocco settlement, Great Britain would be prepared to support her. Whether such support would take a diplomatic, naval, or military form would be for His Majesty's Government to determine when the occasion arose. It must be borne in mind that this obligation, so far as it went, bore special reference to the Anglo-French Agreement relating to Morocco and Egypt. We have never undertaken to support France in a quarrel which falls outside the scope of the particular understanding to which we were parties.

It has however been stated, and the statement is no doubt correct, that early in the present year the French Foreign Office again approached our Government with an inquiry as

to its intentions in the event of a war in which the north-eastern frontier of France might be threatened through Belgium. The answer to this question is understood to have been conveyed verbally to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs by the British Ambassador in Paris. It was to the effect that in such an event His Majesty's ministers would take the circumstances into consideration, and would hold themselves free to act according to the necessities of the case ; but that they could not countenance aggressive action by France. According to the most authoritative interpreters this means that if France attacks Germany we shall leave her to fight her own battles ; but if Germany makes a wanton and unprovoked assault upon France we shall assist the Republic, though probably by the use of our naval rather than our military resources. This is not an agreement nor even an understanding : it is simply a description of the policy which it may be assumed we shall follow in the contingency suggested.

If all this has been made perfectly clear to those chiefly concerned there should be little excuse for misunderstanding our position. It certainly offers no ground for the imputation that we can be dragged by either of our associates in the Triple Entente into a war in which we have no direct interest. We are at liberty, of course, as we always have been, to consider how any continental conflict would affect us and to shape our conduct in accordance with our estimate of the facts ; but we are certainly not pledged in advance to any of the potential combatants. We may hope that our friends and neighbours have been left in no uncertainty on this point, particularly as the most careful verbal communications are sometimes misleading.

Even now there is an element of danger in the formula which the Foreign Office is believed to have adopted. Is it quite politic to declare that France can always count upon our aid in the event of aggressive action coming from the other side ? When two great nations are in the mood to fight, each waiting for the most favourable opening, it is very difficult to assign the responsibility for the actual breach of the peace. It is possible to goad an adversary beyond endurance and then, by astute diplomacy, to make him the nominal aggressor. The feat of Bismarck in 1870 is capable of imitation or adaptation.

After all, what is a 'wanton attack' in this sphere? Is it the actual movement of troops upon a foreign frontier or the prolonged and deliberate provocation which has rendered that movement inevitable? It can hardly be supposed that we should make war or abstain from it according as the final insulting despatch came from one side or the other. We are not concerned to vindicate either international morals or international manners. If we are bound to protect France against defeat in order to maintain the Balance of Power or to restrict 'the orbit of a single diplomacy,' it is obviously of no consequence to us whether France is in the right or in the wrong. But if we have now abandoned this ground, we shall join France only when it is our interest to do so; and that will depend upon the causes and the probable results of the conflict. In other words, we should make it plain that we shall not feel ourselves called upon to participate in the quarrels of the Continental Powers unless or until we are convinced that we have some specific object to gain by taking action or some definite loss to sustain by remaining neutral.

THE TURKISH POINT OF VIEW

1. **The Balkan War Drama.** By A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT. Andrew Melrose. 1913.
2. **With the Turks in Thrace.** By E. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT. Heinemann. 1913.
3. **With the Victorious Bulgarians.** By Lieut. WAGNER. Constable and Co. 1913.
4. **With the Conquered Turk.** By LIONEL JAMES. Nelson and Sons. 1913.
5. **The Passing of the Turkish Empire in Europe.** By Captain GRANVILLE BAKER. Seeley, Service and Co. 1913.
6. **Peace Theories and the Balkan War.** By NORMAN ANGELL. Horace Marshall and Son. 1913.
7. **Turkey and the Eastern Question.** By JOHN MACDONALD. T. C. and E. C. Jack. 1913.
8. **Turquie Agonisante.** By PIERRE LOTI. Calmann-Lévy. Paris. 1913.
9. **The Turks' Last Stand—A Lecture delivered at the University of London.** By FÉLIX VALYI. Cambridge : University Press. 1913.
10. **Les Atrocités des Coalisés Balkaniques.** By LE COMITÉ DE PUBLICATION, D.A.C.B. Constantinople. 1913.
11. **La Guerre d'Orient.** By JEAN RUBY (3 pamphlets). Imp. Kléber. Paris. 1913.
12. **A War Photographer in Thrace.** By H. F. BALDWIN. T. Fisher Unwin. 1913.

IN the case of other great conflicts which have disturbed the peace of the world, public feeling in this country has usually been more or less keenly aroused, even when our own national and imperial interests were not appreciably involved. In the titanic struggle of the sixties, British sympathy was, on the whole, extended to the Southern States ; it was very largely on the side of the French in 1870, and of the Turks in 1878. But the opinions expressed by the various English newspapers in these several periods were by no means unanimous, nor in any instance was either belligerent condemned by default through the absence of any adequate statement of his case. In the case, however, of the present struggle in the Nearer East one of the combatants has been practically undefended at the bar

of public opinion in England. Not a single newspaper in Great Britain has expressed sympathy with the Ottoman cause or even endeavoured to place before its readers any definite statement of the Turkish point of view. Our people, as they increase every day in prosperity and comfort, appear to concern themselves less and less with foreign affairs—some of the more thoughtful because of our heavy arrears of social reform in town and village, the less thoughtful very largely from the growing disregard for idealism in national conduct and from the impatience of Mr. Wells' 'Bert' to concentrate thought and effort on 'putting one's hand on the dibs' and 'having a 'good time.' The general interest aroused by the present conflict has been extremely faint. The Foreign Office is given a completely free hand to deal with the issues involved without any criticism from an Opposition keenly alive, as a rule, to seize opportunities for attack, while the general public seems to take for granted in the absence of any presentment of the case for Turkey that no such case exists. The writer may therefore be pardoned if he ventures to examine briefly the origin, progress and results of the Balkan War, and endeavours as an impartial spectator and personal participator in this cruel conflict to ask from the reading public some consideration of the Ottoman case in the spirit of our traditional 'fair play.'

The Turks themselves—well-informed soldiers and civilians as well as the 'man in the street'—entered on the struggle in a spirit of thorough confidence and optimism. In the eyes of the average Turk the Montenegrin hillmen simply did not count, nor were the Greeks valued at a much higher estimate. The complete *débâcle* of the Hellenic forces in 1898 was still fresh in men's minds, and certain battalions of Edhem's army used to recount how they marched against the Greeks with stones in their pockets, such missiles being found formidable enough for their timid adversaries. It was never believed that the Servians would ever stand against the Turkish advance, which would thus effectually cut off from the Bulgarians all succour from their western allies and leave them to the mercy of Abdullah Pasha in Thrace.

The current explanations of the Macedonian disaster, apart from defects of the Turkish commissariat and general organisation, have taken shape in a series of general charges laid on the head of that veritable scape-goat—the Young Turkish Party.

Journalists, whose knowledge of Turkey has been derived from a week's sojourn at Chorlu and the gossip of the Constantinople clubs, refer with damnable reiteration to the religious scepticism and drinking habits of the Young Turks, who are accused in the most nebulous fashion of having lessened the efficiency of the army. Do these glib critics imagine that in four years the Anatolian peasant has lost his religious faith and enthusiasm, and that well-to-do Turks, whether young or old, did not before 1908 occasionally violate the letter of the Koran by drinking a 'petit verre'?

There is indeed no need to seek for other than military reasons for the utter failure in Macedonia and the partial failure in Thrace. Bluffed into fatal inaction again and again by Charkow, Turkey had lamentably failed in adequate preparations for the inevitable Balkan War. On the very verge of the outbreak, 150,000 of her best troops were disbanded. These men had been kept under arms in Syria for fifteen months continuously against possible risks from the Italians, and after their return to their long-neglected farms and families, re-mobilisation was found impracticable in the case of a large minority. Meanwhile, Kiamil Pasha's haunting fears of Russian aggression kept some 70,000 of Turkey's most effective battalions on the Eastern frontiers of Asia Minor until November.

Mobilisation was ordered on the 1st of October, but nothing was done until the 7th; and the troops that were finally rushed up to meet the allies' advance were to a large extent untrained and under-officered recruits. One battalion of *redifs* marched through Pera with four officers. The large force mobilised against Greece in 1898 was also largely composed of partially trained *redifs*, but Edhem Pasha had six clear weeks for drill and organisation before the commencement of actual hostilities. The collapse of the Ottoman supplies of food and artillery ammunition, the absence of field telephones or telegraphs on the Lule Burgas-Viza line, the demoralisation of the railway service caused by the hordes of refugees and the proved treachery of Greek employees along the line—these and other obvious reasons for the Turkish disasters have been accentuated again and again in the narratives of the war correspondents. In the case, however, of the Macedonian *débâcle* less light has been forthcoming: the combatants have fought

in this obscurely understood campaign after the manner of Homeric warriors shrouded from the eyes of onlookers by the heaven-sent mist of a jealous goddess. The only bright gleams amid the ever-deepening gloom of military disaster have come from the stout defence by desperate, disorganised and half-starved troops at Janina and Scutari, and a number of minor positions scarcely heard of in the outer world. One signal defeat, too, was inflicted on the Greeks to the south of Monastir, though the three batteries captured on this occasion were subsequently retaken by the Servians after their magnificent success at Monastir.

The point not sufficiently realised by critics of the Turks in Macedonia is that Ahmed Riza's forces were hopelessly outnumbered from the first. The estimates of the Turkish armies furnished by European newspapers were grotesquely inaccurate, and it is quite clear that 100,000 men was the outside limit of the force employed against the combined attack of Greeks, Montenegrins, Servians, and, later on, some 60,000 Bulgarians. On the 31st of July 1870 the German troops available for service at the front numbered 480,000, against 238,000 Frenchmen, but this numerical superiority was greatly exceeded in the case of the united allies in Macedonia. The occupation of 'interior lines' could not compensate for the cruel inferiority in numbers, and Ahmed Riza made his desperate position infinitely worse by dissipating his strength in detached operations carried on by small bodies of men. The Turkish commander has been blamed for his failure to concentrate and crush his opponents in detail before any general union was effected. But quite apart from his numerical weakness there were two vital factors in the situation which have been largely overlooked—the activity of the irregular 'bands,' and the unreliability of the Albanian troops. The invaders received aid of incalculable value from thousands of Christians who acted as spies and guides. At every town the Turks were harassed by the guerilla assaults of the Komitadjis, their communications were constantly cut, their convoys destroyed, their blockhouses and barracks blown up. On the eve of hostilities Sandansky, by his occupation of the Kresna Pass, in the valley of the Struma, effectually controlled one of the most important lines of communication between Salonika or Serres and the north. During the final

retirement upon Salonika an entire train crowded with some 700 soldiers fell headlong to destruction with all its human freight from a broken bridge into the ravine below, and despite a rumour that the Turks had themselves blown a gap in the structure, this appalling catastrophe—scarcely noticed in the general avalanche of disaster—was more probably caused by a Komitadji band. The scenes of enthusiasm which have marked the entry of the allied forces into Salonika, Dedeagatch, Janina and other towns enable us to realise the general hostility of the environment which surrounded the weak and scattered divisions of the Turkish army in Macedonia. The defenders were not even united in this time of stress and peril. The number of the Christian soldiers in the Sultan's service did not apparently exceed some 5 or 6 per cent. ; but a mere handful of traitors or deserters can in 'tight places' bring about a deplorable amount of discouragement and panic. Masséna once declared that 10 per cent. of cowards could make any regiment run away. The Turkish commanders were heavily handicapped throughout by the presence of disaffected Christians in the ranks. Some of these men, prisoners at Stara Zagora, wore Bulgarian colours and said 'We fired in the air, 'and when our battalion fell to pieces we were glad, very glad.' The one exception was furnished by the Armenians, who almost alone among their Christian comrades fought and died bravely for the Empire.

A far more serious obstacle to Turkish success was presented by the unexpected indifference or disloyalty of the Albanian Moslems. It is no exaggeration to say that the practically wholesale defection of these hillmen gave the deathblow to any chances which the Ottoman forces may have possessed at the commencement of the Macedonian campaign. The Albanians had always been the *enfants gâtés* of Abdul Hamid, and their rugged country had come to be regarded as the best recruiting-ground for the Sultan's army. For various reasons, the Albanian hillmen, during the present hostilities, have, with some exceptions, maintained an attitude of sullen hostility to the Ottoman cause. They did not, it is true, assist the Christian allies, at whose hands they were destined ultimately to suffer pillage, outrage, and massacre ; but their defection was fatal to the Turks. The following telegrams will help to illustrate the point. One was found

addressed to the Albanian leader, Bolietinatz, from the Turkish General :

‘ We sent you 63,000 rifles : why have we never heard of your being in action ? ’

Essad Pasha, in command of a division of Albanian *redifs*, telegraphs :

‘ For the love of God and of the Prophet do not leave me alone with this population. Send me some Turks ! ’

From Pristina comes a message sent by Mahmud Pasha :

‘ Cursed be this people whom we call noble ! Send me Turks ! ’

The 7500 Albanians who, with 2500 Turks, composed the Elbasan division, flatly refused to advance against the Servians and so involved the entire force in a disastrous retreat.

In the two main engagements in Thrace, the Turks were badly worsted at Lule Burgas-Viza, and signally successful at Tchataldja. As far, therefore, as the Eastern campaign was concerned, the Turks on the 21st of November were not a beaten army in the sense in which the French were beaten in 1870. Their confused retreat over ground eminently suitable for mounted troops was not interfered with by the Bulgarian cavalry, and it soon became evident that a really formidable stand would be made in the new position. Nazim Pasha may have had his faults and limitations, but he succeeded in creating order out of chaos and in winning the one big Turkish victory. Throughout the earlier period of the war he never despaired, and he certainly deserved a better fate. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the Bulgarian armistice-terms was a serious blunder. The Turks had everything to lose and little to win from the temporary cessation of hostilities, and a strong feeling existed that in any case Kiamil Pasha should have addressed himself to the Powers and not to the allies. The defeat inflicted on the Bulgarians at Tchataldja was far greater than even the Turks themselves realised at the time ; for it seems clear that a loss variously estimated at 15,000 to 20,000 men was the outcome of Bulgarian over-confidence in the valley between Boyuk Tchmekmedje and Derkos. Those of us who witnessed the attack can only conjecture that the artillery fire of the Turkish forts and redoubts at ranges *found*

accurately beforehand in the ten-days' interval must have been of the most deadly character. Then again the cholera-germs left behind during the retirement of the Anatolian troops were afforded full scope through the Bulgarians' shocking neglect of ordinary camp sanitation and shortage of food; and the advent of this dreadful malady caused a veritable panic amongst the invaders. Those present in the allied camp tell us of the frenzied terror inspired by the cry of 'cholera,' of tents and railway trains resounding with the screams of the victims. Nazim's hungry and tired men were for nearly a week struck down at the rate of 1000 a day, but the Turkish sufferers endured their miserable doom with resignation and fortitude; no cries ascended from the thousands of suffering men who died on the muddy fields of Hademkeui and San Stefano. And at this critical juncture, when the enemy, exhausted by their tremendous efforts and heavy losses in the earlier battle, had just been repulsed with great slaughter—an entire battalion had been surrounded and bayoneted by a body of Turkish reserves at Kizil-Dzarli on the Derkos side—at this moment too when the Bulgarian morale was being undermined by the ravages of cholera and semi-starvation, while the Turkish defenders had at length secured rest, shelter, and abundant rations—Nazim Pasha and the Grand Vizier determined to arrange an armistice. Nazim was tricked from start to finish by General Savoff whose men had infinitely more to gain from a cessation of hostilities than the Sultan's troops. The Ottoman commander with excellent cards in his hand simply played the Bulgarian game by accepting the grotesquely unfair conditions with regard to Adrianople. Shukri Pasha's gallant army with all the civilian population of Adrianople were doomed to long days of inaction and short commons while food convoys were allowed to pass to the besiegers within effective range of the fortress' guns. It is indeed difficult to understand how any conceivable good could accrue to the Ottoman army from this armistice which, by a piece of typical sharp practice, did not cover the mischievous activities of the Greek fleet. One can hardly exaggerate the intense indignation aroused amongst a large section of the Ottoman population, civil and military alike, over the almost incredible folly and weakness of Kiamil's and Nazim's action in arranging the one-sided terms of the Tchataldja truce.

From the tangle of the Thracian narratives, necessarily imperfect, as compiled by correspondents who rarely witnessed any actual fighting, two definite occurrences stand out—the engagements at Lule Burgas and Tchataldja. Critics have deplored the absence of any coherent description of the capture of the ‘fortress of Kirk Kilisseh’; but it is clear that no such battle as that usually presupposed ever took place. The conversion of Kirk Kilisseh into a strongly fortified position, had, it is true, formed part of the Turkish plan of defence in the ‘inevitable war’ against the Bulgarians; but for various reasons, economic and otherwise, very little had been accomplished. Had it been otherwise the history of the campaign might have been altered to the detriment of the allied armies. This failure to fortify Kirk Kilisseh adequately was indeed a cardinal mistake of the Ottoman staff on the Thracian side, for the position, according to the defence scheme of 1881, would have formed a second fortress, strongly entrenched, and capable, with Adrianople, of at least seriously delaying the Bulgarian advance. As it was, the main fighting took place in open country to the north and north-west of the town, which lies in a hollow, and was last October defended only by a few hasty entrenchments and three neglected redoubts armed with antiquated artillery.

All Moslems and many of the Sultan’s Christian subjects are convinced that the Turks are the victims of a gigantic European conspiracy to rob them of their territory by fair means or foul. They maintain that successive attempts to establish good government in Macedonia have been deliberately frustrated by Russia and the Balkan States and that a well-governed and tranquil Turkey was the very last thing really desired by the Powers, who, on their side, never hesitated to violate the most solemn treaty-engagements for their own ends, when any safe opportunity arose. Russia rode rough-shod over her pledges with reference to Batoum; Italy’s duplicity was especially discreditable, for, according to Turkish statements, a few weeks before the Tripolitan War broke out the king of Italy welcomed Prince Yussuf Eddin to Rome and, after ‘embracing him three times,’ gave him a definite assurance that no war would take place over Tripoli. Austria’s case was worse, for she tore up treaties without even troubling to put forward a pretext. Great Britain, besides her earlier pledges in the Treaty

of Berlin, undertook in 1878, as a special condition of her occupation of Cyprus, to defend the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Compared with the *splendide mendax* character of these larger obligations the later declaration of the Powers as to the maintenance of the *status quo*, 'whatever the result of the war,' fades into insignificance. The churches of Christendom seldom raise their voices against the violation of a treaty where weak Moslem people are concerned. Opportunism, hypocrisy, and brute force are, in the eyes of the Turk, the weapons upon which the Cross now relies in its war of extermination against the Crescent.

The Turks point to the whole history of the Balkan question in support of their contention; nor can their case against the Revolutionary Committee, that *fons et origo* of Macedonian disturbance and massacre, be ignored. One of the fairest and best informed students of the Balkan problem, the author of 'The Balkan War Drama,' whose sympathies are by no means pro-Turk, describes the revolutionary propaganda of the Bulgarians as follows:

'The policy carried on by this body was one of the most diabolical that had yet been invented throughout the blood-stained history of the Balkan problem. A group of enthusiasts had noticed how easily sympathy was aroused once "massacres" were mentioned, and they at once set to work to encourage massacre. . . . The most effective way of doing this was to put bombs in the midst of a Mohammedan crowd in some remote village—on a market day for preference. The bomb would explode and kill three or four persons; it was whispered that this was the work of Bulgarians, and the incensed crowd would see red and massacre every Bulgarian on whom it could lay hands. It was then easy enough to say that the bomb was the work of the Young Turks, while there could be no dispute as to who had committed the subsequent massacres.'

Nobody with first-hand knowledge of the Macedonian troubles has ever questioned these facts. So sincere an admirer of the Bulgarians as Lieut. Wagner admits them without hesitation; and it is notorious that the Kotchana massacre which stirred the Bulgarians to frenzy was brought about by the same infamous use of Bulgarian bombs. The Komitadji bands stopped at nothing in their determination to keep the Macedonian agitation open. At Salonika bombs were even exploded on the French ship 'Guadeloupe' and in the Ottoman Bank; this was followed by the cutting of the gas and water mains. 'Despairing cries,' writes an eyewitness, 'of "*Aman!*

'*Aman!*' ("Mercy! Mercy!") were heard in the streets. 'Then began outbreaks of fire, and soon the sky was all a 'glowing red.' The dynamite used by the bands came largely from Russia, packed in sardine-boxes, and the Servian, Bulgarian, and Greek monasteries, subsidised by their respective governments, provided the Komitadjis with a safe retreat from the pursuit of the Ottoman authorities.

Amid all the evidence, varied, cumulative, and irresistible for the evil and persistent work of those *agents provocateurs*, the Komitadji bands, the Turks have been continually denounced for their failure to establish settled government in Macedonia. The bands were not only subsidised from Sofia, Athens, and Belgrade, but actually organised by well-known officers and professors like Panitzza, Nikolaieff, and Matoff. For the cruel history of Macedonia, for the blood and tears of innocent peasants, Turkish and Christian, heavy may be the past responsibility of inefficient rulers, but heavier still that of the European Powers who failed from self-seeking greed to use their strength to good purpose, and heaviest that of the authors of the infamous policy which was framed in order to destroy the possibility of reform.

'For years,' writes Lieut. Wagner—who, whatever his eccentricities as a war-correspondent, possesses an intimate knowledge of and admiration for the Bulgarian people—'the Komitadjis have with rifle, knife, revolver, and bomb, 'waged a terrible guerilla war in Macedonia against everything that is not Bulgarian. Mercy there is none, not even 'to old men and women and children.'

Sandansky, whose hands, according to his own boast, were red with the blood of three hundred murders, has been employed in this modern crusade; nor has the Bulgarian Government hesitated to accept the services of 12,000 men whose brutal savagery trampled on every law and custom of civilised warfare. It would in short be difficult to find in history a more shameful application of the doctrine of doing evil that good may come. And what was the good aimed at by the authors and followers of the Komitadji policy? Sentimental journalists and the members of the Balkan Committee may repeat *ad nauseam* the hypocrisy of King Ferdinand's appeal on behalf of the oppressed Christians of Macedonia, but no educated person in Turkey, Moslem or Christian, is deceived by

the utter insincerity of this cry. 'Turk, Albanian, Serb, and 'Greek alike, trembled before these sons of Hell' is a fair epitome of Bulgaria's action in Macedonia for the last twelve years. The whole motive of the Bulgarians, from start to finish, has been the lust of territory; and the war has been one of conquest, pure and simple. The Montenegrin Premier has naively admitted that the possession of Skutari was the main objective which led his country to declare war. In the same spirit on March 13th, 1912, a secret treaty was concluded which assigned all territory north of the Shar range to Servia and south of it to Bulgaria—the Cazas of Koumanovo, Uskub, Divra, and Straga were to be allotted by Russian arbitration. The Christians who forced this war upon Turkey in order to 'liberate their co-religionists' have long since made clear the real purport of the campaign, and crusading zeal has been revealed as a feverish scramble for territory. Bulgarian jealousy of Greece caused the quite unnecessary dispatch of 60,000 troops of the Thracian army to Salonika and paralysed any effective action before the Tchataldja defences. The inhabitants of Serres and Cavalla have forwarded petitions to Athens against Bulgarian annexation, while at Nigrita one section of the Crusaders has been bombarded by the other. The Greek words for Bulgarian and barbarian are used interchangeably at Athens, and the following casual extract from a Greek newspaper of the 17th of October 1904 may serve to indicate the mutual feeling which exists between two of the Balkan allies—'Eight hundred thousand Greeks have been (by 'the Reforms of Mürzsteg) left to the mercy of those greatest 'assassins and bandits, the Bulgarians. Let us put aside 'prayers and overtures; all our energies should be concentrated on vengeance; blood must be shed. Thus shall we 'aid Turkey, whose great desire is to exterminate all these 'scoundrels of Bulgarians.' Nor on the other hand have the Bulgarians ever forgotten Servia's treacherous attack at a moment of national crisis and peril in 1885.

When a thoughtful Turk asks in painful amazement—for he deeply reveres the Founder of Christianity—how it comes to pass that the Christian nations of Europe condone the terrorist policy of the Komitadjis and sympathise with wars of conquest and aggrandisement, he receives the answer that the Young Turks had their chance in Macedonia and lost it, that

Turkish rule has been synonymous with oppression and massacre, and that in any case the Turk is incapable of progress or civilised government.

That the Young Turks were afforded any real opportunity of settling the vexed question of Macedonian government they indignantly deny. That men like Enver Bey, Mahmud Shevket or Fehti Bey are genuine and disinterested reformers no one can doubt who has known them personally or understood the story of their pathetic failure. The welcome extended to the Reformers by the European Powers was mere lip-service. The task they had undertaken was colossal, and demanded a long period of national leisure for social and economic reconstruction. Yet for the cleansing of the Augean stable of Abdul Hamid's misrule the Young Turks were scarcely allowed six months ! The idea of a rejuvenated and well governed Turkey had become a veritable nightmare to her Christian neighbours ; a settled Macedonia might prove a fatal hindrance to Austria's hopes of Salonika, Bulgaria's dream of empire, Russia's plans of Slav ascendancy and the control of the Dardanelles. The limited autonomy conceded to Macedonia in 1906 had been accepted by the Bulgarian war-party with the worst possible grace, and the unpopularity of King Ferdinand became intensified when the confusion produced in Turkey by the new reform movement was not at once taken advantage of for a declaration of hostilities. The whole of Europe seemed, in the eyes of the Young Turks, to be united in a malevolent conspiracy to ruin their prospects and defeat their efforts for national betterment.

Within a few months the savagery of the Komitadji bands was renewed with a violence which the Ottoman authorities and their foreign Gendarmerie officers were almost powerless to control. Some of the bandits were surrounded and exterminated, but these attempts to restore public order were loudly denounced in the European Press as a patent proof that the Young Turks' rule was as iniquitous as that of Abdul Hamid. Austria, in callous disregard of treaty engagements, annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina ; Bulgaria, after a dishonourable repudiation of her financial obligations as regards a share of the Ottoman debt, proceeded to reject the suzerainty of the Sultan. Proofs were forthcoming—so responsible Turkish statesmen aver—that the last revolt in the Yemen was instigated by a

foreign Power, while Italy, with the apparent approval of England and France, invaded the vilayet of Tripoli without a shadow of justification. The loss of Tripoli and Bosnia and Herzegovina was of little material consequence to Turkey—the African territory had been administered at a heavy annual loss—but the blow to the prestige of the reformers occasioned by these repeated losses and failures was almost fatal to their schemes of social reform and honest government. Mistakes were indubitably made by the Young Turks, and the worst blunder was their failure to come to terms with the Greeks. Crete has proved a veritable curse to the Ottoman Empire. In 1881, however, the Porte formally offered the island to the Hellenic Government in return for some slight readjustment of the Thessalian frontier. Once more the Powers intervened to veto this happy solution. Later on the value of a Greco-Turkish *entente* was realised by some of Turkey's best friends, but the reformers held back and nothing was done in this direction. Right dearly has Turkey paid for this diplomatic error.

When King Ferdinand in his famous Declaration of the 17th of October described the coming campaign as 'a war of the 'Cross against the Crescent' it was realised that the gates were being opened to the worst features of religious fanaticism and pitiless savagery. Such anticipations have been amply fulfilled. It may be said without fear of contradiction that modern history furnishes no parallel to the atrocities inflicted by the allied invaders upon the helpless Moslem inhabitants of Macedonia. A strange silence has been observed with regard to these happenings by the English Press. In the absence of sanguinary battles, the public has lost all interest in the campaign, and our politicians are Gallios who care for none of these things so long as the victims are only Moslem Arabs in the Tripoli oasis or Moslem Turks in the towns and villages of Macedonia. It is impossible to do justice to the evidence within the limits of this paper, but after a careful sifting of the records and the elimination of everything except the testimony of reliable eyewitnesses, so terrible an indictment remains against the invaders that Dr. Daneff was well advised in requesting the non-publication of certain evidence on the ground that it would prejudice the cause of the allies in the eyes of the British public. Sir Edward Grey has refused to

publish the reports forwarded from Macedonia by our own Consuls, but ample evidence has been forthcoming from a veritable cloud of responsible and reliable witnesses including the correspondents of the 'Messagero' and the 'Kölnische Zeitung,' the French General Baumann, the priest Brunau, and the Italian Fathers at Dedeagatch.

A representative of one of the Great Powers at Constantinople writes as follows :

' Dans les Balkans . . . les massacres continuent. Le nombre des Turcs massacrés monte à 240,000 personnes. Et je n'ai pas exagéré ce nombre. Si l'Europe voulait intervenir une fois ! Cette Europe qui est intervenu quand un berger Bulgare ou un voleur de moutons Serbe a été tué ! '

The lowest estimate of the appalling massacre at Serres on November 27th puts the number of the slain at 1800. From the official reports of the Austrian consuls we learn that between Kumanovo and Uskub some 3000 inhabitants were put to death. The Albanians have been slaughtered in wholesale fashion by the Servian troops, no mercy being given even to old men, women, or children. At Ferisovitch, for example, it appears that some 400 fugitives were collected and killed *en masse*. The most sickening details of these infamies are furnished by trustworthy eyewitnesses. A German who stood within fifteen or twenty metres of some appalling Komitadji atrocities at Cavalla writes as follows (translated) :

' The Komitadjis, in order to celebrate their arrival, seized thirty-nine Turkish notables for the purpose of a public massacre. This is how they set to work. They stripped the prisoners naked and then tied them together in groups of three. One of each group was pierced with bayonet thrusts and finally decapitated, the second treated similarly, and the third, dragged down by the weight of the two corpses, was bled like a sheep by the severance of his two carotid arteries.'

In short, every fiendish refinement of human cruelty was employed in this wholesale destruction of non-combatants. Little children were cut into small pieces before the eyes of their parents, who were themselves soaked in petroleum and so burnt alive. One of the doctors of the Red Cross testifies that he discovered in the pocket of a Servian officer who was in his care two severed fingers from a woman's hand, one of

them with a ring on it. In every direction helpless Moslem women were violated by the officers and soldiers of the Cross.

Frequently in the treatment meted out to the unfortunate soldiers who had been taken prisoners, little regard was paid to the ordinary laws of civilised warfare. Ill-treated, starved, and pillaged, these wretched captives have in some cases been slaughtered in cold blood. Mehmed Sirri Bey, a *chef de Bureau* in the Postal Service at Zelhova, whose account is independently corroborated by the correspondent of the 'Kölnische Zeitung,' states that some 12,000 Turkish soldiers were collected at Serres, marched outside the town, and there tied together in batches and massacred in cold blood. After the recital of infamies almost incredible in the twentieth century it would be an anti-climax to deal with the evidence for the systematic pillage and incendiarism which has marked the course of the Allies' victorious advance.

The ordinary criticism passed upon these outrages is that they are horrible enough ; but, after all, the Turk did exactly the same when he was the upper dog, and what is happening now is prompted by a natural and almost inevitable spirit of reprisal. It is further alleged by way of excuse that the Turkish troops pillaged and massacred Christians during the retreat. That in former days Ottoman troops have at times been guilty of outrage and murder cannot be denied, but apart from the two terrible massacres perpetrated in Armenia under Abdul Hamid and at Adana during the Young Turkish *régime* it is unquestioned that the brutality exhibited from time to time in Macedonia was deliberately provoked by the bandit emissaries of Bulgaria. As to the alleged outrages during the retreat, very little definite evidence is forthcoming. Lieut. Wagner speaks of a massacre by Turkish troops at Furnevo, but later on repeats the same story as fresh evidence. In Thrace no evidence whatever was forthcoming of Turkish violence. The leading correspondents unanimously acquit the Turks of the vague and indefinite charges brought against them. The general character of these allegations can be judged from two *official* statements emanating from Athens and Sofia. In the one case an official Greek bulletin declared that the Turkish doctors had gone to the front to infect the Allies' drinking-water with the bacilli of cholera and enteric—a disgraceful slander of which M. Caradjas failed to substantiate

a single word. In the other case an official *communiqué* from Sofia to Bucharest declaring : ' À Constantinople même, il y a ' beaucoup de Bulgares massacrés,' was an equally baseless fiction. Throughout the campaign any Christian could walk through the streets of Stamboul without fear of molestation or even insult ; nor amid the bitter resentment against Italy in 1911-12 did any Italian suffer the slightest maltreatment in the capital. During Edhem Pasha's victorious advance in 1898 the Ottoman troops invariably respected the lives, honour, and property of non-combatants.

The present writer rode in the Turkish retreat from Viza to Tcherkeskeui over country unvisited by any journalist, and saw no trace of outrage or even ordinary pilfering amongst the starving troops. Tchorlu is a large village containing a number of Greek and Bulgarian inhabitants, not one of whom was molested in any way by Abdullah Pasha's soldiers. The real basic fact is that the Turk is not by nature a violent and murderous person, but according to the universal verdict of those who really know him, quiet, tolerant, and considerate. Take one striking instance. In November last, a Turkish patrol in front of the Tchataldja lines came across a number of Christians—Ottoman subjects—busily digging trenches which would be occupied by the Bulgarian troops on their arrival. If the position had been reversed what mercy would have been shown to Moslem peasants by the allied forces? As it was, these traitors were not butchered or even maltreated, but simply marched off to headquarters for a proper trial. Even had the Turks done violence to the Christians during their retreat they might have put forward as some excuse the undoubted fact that these Bulgarian and Greek villagers were acting throughout the war as spies and traitors. However, the most valid refutation of the charges brought against the Ottoman troops is furnished by a telegram passed by the censor and received in Belgrade from the Servian front at the moment when the wild talk of Turkish atrocities was at its height :

' The further progress is made, the more certain it is that the atrocities are due to the Arnauts and not to the Turks.'

The massacre of Moslems in Albania and Macedonia is not wholly explained by the existence of racial and religious bitterness, nor again by that sheer blood-lust which has

sometimes stained the record of combatants much more highly civilised than Serbs and Bulgarians. The main incentive in this wholesale slaughter is agrarian—the desire to possess the land and houses of the Moslems. For the first time in civilised warfare it seems to be taken for granted that the inhabitants of a conquered territory are *ipso facto* deprived of their farms and other property, and that the Moslem refugees who have managed to escape from outrage and murder must be provided with fresh land in Asia Minor without a farthing of compensation from the conquerors. This monstrous doctrine, absolutely at variance with the laws of modern war, is apparently accepted by the Balkan Committee without any scruple. By the simple expedient of wholesale massacre, the Serbs and Bulgarians have taken care that the peasants left behind in the flight should make as few claims as possible for land or compensation. Already in Albania the farms of Moslems executed on the flimsiest pretexts have been bought by Christian informers for ridiculously small prices *from the Servian Government*.

By the time these lines are printed the long delayed agreement may have been reached, and one more eventful chapter completed in the blood-stained history of the Balkan communities. The Balkan States are drained of men and money, and the persistent demand for an impossible indemnity is the outcome of the economic collapse which stares them in the face when hostilities are over. But for monetary assistance from Russia, Bulgaria could not have continued the campaign after the armistice. Turkey, deprived of all financial as well as moral support from the European Powers, has only by the most desperate efforts succeeded in prolonging the war and even bettering her military position; but her officials remain unpaid, treasury bonds are being repudiated (with ultimate responsibility for 9 per cent. interest), and it is difficult to see from what further sources she can draw for the mere upkeep of her army in the field. As far as the public concerned itself with the question, the Turks were generally blamed for the failure of the earlier conference. Nevertheless, it is a misuse of language to talk of the London 'negotiations.' Negotiations there were none; the Allies simply stated their terms, and refused every single concession; nor could the Turks, who had recently inflicted a severe defeat upon their enemies, and whose capital was un-

assailable by land or water, possibly accept the new Thracian frontier demanded by the Allies. To go no further, the town of Muradli, within Bulgarian territory under the new proposals, is only fifteen miles from Rodosto, the occupation of which might paralyse any effective military movements in defence of the capital. If Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh go, the Turks will find it necessary to establish at any rate one outer line of defence in lieu of the two which may have been lost, Adrianople-Kirk Kilisseh and Lule Burgas-Viza. A frontier running in a straight line from Cape Hagios Stephanos on the east to the bend of the Maritza, east of Demotika, and thence along that river to Enos, would doubtless be accepted by the Ottoman Government as providing them with a reasonable extent of territory for the defence of Constantinople. In any case the permanent maintenance of a large force along the Tchataldja lines will be a military necessity for the Turks, and on the whole will cost less than the upkeep of the Macedonian garrisons, and the drain of men and money involved in the repression of perpetual unrest in the vilayets of European Turkey.

The average Turk confronts the situation with the characteristic fortitude and dignity of his race. His forefathers came from Asia and thither he returns. For years past many of the better class Ottomans, mindful of their coming doom in Europe, have sent their dead across the Sea of Marmora for sepulture among the cypresses of Skutari and Haidar Pasha. Macedonia and Albania and nearly all Rumelia have gone for ever, but no cry of *revanche* will ever turn the hearts of the coming generation towards the surrendered provinces. The blood and treasure of Anatolia have been poured into Macedonia to little purpose and small profit, and few Turks waste useless regrets upon the loss of Albania, Tripoli, or Crete. The eyes of the Turkish people turn bravely from the survey of their unspeakable calamities to the hope of some better future in Anatolia. Asia Minor is full of latent wealth; Mehmet Ali once remarked that he would exchange the whole of Egypt for the rich plateau of Adana. Minerals and oil await development, and the railway system is in its infancy. Already the Turks are making fresh efforts for administrative reforms in the Asiatic vilayets. Some 5000 gendarmes from Rumelia have been distributed through Asia, and a new system of

grouping inspectors of Gendarmerie, with one European officer in each group, has been recently established.

The all-important question which the Turks now ask themselves is, Will Europe grant us breathing space to show what we can do in the territory which still remains to us? Ominous signs are not wanting in the Russian and French Press that fresh pretexts for interference in the affairs of Turkey are being sought from alleged 'unrest' in Syria and Armenia, though reliable proofs are forthcoming to the effect that recent 'disturbances' in Armenia were due entirely to two outlaws who have since escaped into Persia, demand for their extradition being refused by the 'Persian Government.' The riots at Beirut were simply a window-smashing demonstration by a section of the inhabitants against the local tramway company. If the Osmanlis are brought to realise that they are marked out for destruction, whatever they do and wherever they dwell, and yield themselves up to despair—*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*—England and France may find themselves one day in the midst of a veritable conflagration among their African and Asiatic subjects, the successful extinction of which would merely provide a clearance for Russia's further advance. On the other hand, the Anatolian Turk, in the experience of all who know him, is well worth preservation—honest, clean, sober, brave, kindly, tolerant and self-respecting. Surely the Turks have suffered enough for the past sins of Abdul Hamid and may well demand from the justice and generosity of, at least, England and Germany, the boon they crave—a period of healing peace which may serve to build up the remains of their shattered Empire on a basis of constitutional government and incorrupt administration.

E. N. BENNETT.

THE NAVAL PROBLEM

1. Statement of the First Lord, Explanatory of the Navy Estimates 1913-14. [Cd. 6668.]
2. *The Navy and Sea Power.* By DAVID HANNAY. (The Home University Library.) Williams and Norgate. 1913.
3. *The Ship of the Line in Battle.* By Admiral Sir REGINALD N. CUSTANCE, K.C.B. Blackwood and Sons. 1912.
4. *The Navy League Annual, 1912-13.* Edited by ALAN H. BURGOYNE, M.P. John Murray. 1912.

IT is an accepted axiom of modern politics that each State must be allowed to be the judge of what forces it needs for offence and defence. The corollary, if a corollary may be permitted to an axiom, is that a State which thinks that its safety is being compromised by the martial activity of a potential enemy, must seek its remedy in the development of its own armaments. The result is a vicious circle, to break which seems to be beyond the art of man. International negotiations, exchange of information, the best efforts of diplomats extraordinary—all have been tried, and all have failed to solve the problem of the circle. Is it to be inferred therefore that the problem does not admit of solution? It is impossible to go back to the conditions, and still more so to the mental attitude, which prevailed in the middle of the eighteenth century, when England held the belief, which—according to tradition—the elder Pitt put into words, that any attempt by the House of Bourbon to place its naval forces on an equality with those of Great Britain ought to be construed as an unfriendly act. The ideal of this generation seems to be represented rather in the suggestion of Sir Edward Grey, who, speaking at Manchester on the 17th of February of last year, said :

‘I wonder what would be the effect if at some future Hague Conference (I suppose it would have to be some generations hence) a convention was entered into under which, whenever any two Governments declared that there was a time of diplomatic contention, there should at once be a complete exchange of journalists between the two countries, and all the leading articles on foreign politics in each country should be written by the journalists of the

other—written, of course, with the firmness of patriotism and with that freedom which comes from having no official responsibility, but also with that politeness which would be inculcated by being the guest in another man's house.'

The suggestion is so attractive that it is sad to think that it belongs to a far-distant Utopia. In the same speech Sir Edward Grey stated in general terms the problem of armaments, the instruments of foreign policy: 'A margin of naval strength is essential to us, not for purposes of conquest, not for domination, but as a condition necessary to enable us to live on equal terms with other nations that have armies much greater than our own.' There is a significance in these words beyond their paraphrase of the old and respected doctrine of the balance of power. The term 'a margin of naval strength' introduced by Sir Edward Grey seemed, a year ago, to have no particular significance. Vague in itself, it had acquired no definite meaning from official usage. The course of events, however, has during the past year firmly established this term—'a margin of naval strength'—in the popular phraseology: it has indeed already almost taken the place formerly held by 'the two-Power standard.' This being so it is worth while to trace its rise and progress, and to examine what is the particular 'margin' now officially aimed at.

In introducing the Navy Estimates of 1912-13 the First Lord, after giving a comparative review of naval forces, said:

'We are not prepared to recommend, at the present time, the "two keels to one" standard in new construction against Germany. The time may come when that will be necessary, but it is not necessary now. I will, however, state precisely the standard which we regard as appropriate to the present situation. . . . Standards of naval strength must vary with circumstances and situation. Adequate naval superiority is the object. . . . When the next two strongest naval Powers were France and Russia, and when those two Powers were also what one might call the most probably adverse diplomatic combination, the two-Power standard was a convenient rule, based upon reality, for us to follow as a guide. The passage of time, and the rise of the Navy of a single Power to the first place upon the Continent have changed this. . . . The time has come for us to readjust our standard in closer accord with actual facts and probable contingencies. . . . The actual standard of new construction, which the Admiralty has in fact followed during recent years, has been to develop a 60 per cent. superiority in vessels of the Dreadnought type over the German Navy on the basis of an existing fleet law.'

Mr. Churchill was careful to explain that the standard thus outlined was limited to new construction of capital ships, and that adherence to it would be possible only if Germany did not modify her existing programme of shipbuilding, and if no unexpected developments occurred in other countries. 'I must not,' he said, 'be taken as agreeing that the ratio of sixteen to ten could be regarded as a sufficient preponderance for British naval strength as a whole above that of the next strongest naval Power. The statement I make is much more limited.' Also it should be noted that he refrained from looking more than four or five years ahead. On the same occasion the First Lord referred to the amendment to the German Navy Law, which at that date was already casting strong shadows before it. If, as seemed probable, the *Novelle** should provide for the construction of additional German capital ships, the laying down of each of those ships would be met by the beginning of two ships of the same class by Great Britain. It is already ancient history that the formal announcement of the modification of the German programme, in the sense anticipated, followed closely on the heels of Mr. Churchill's speech. In the result, Germany is to lay down three capital ships in 1913 and two in 1914, and Great Britain is to lay down five and four in those years respectively. In subsequent years this procedure is to be repeated; but it does not seem necessary to take those further ships into account at the present moment, for none of them can be completed within the period of four or five years from March 1912, to which Mr. Churchill's forecast was limited. That period may be taken as coming to an end on the 31st of March 1917, and it will be instructive to consider what will be the relative positions of the two countries in completed ships at that date.

Great Britain will then have, completed :

Pre-Dreadnoughts (under 20 years old)	. 29
Lord Nelsons	. 2
Dreadnoughts (including 1912 programme)	. 34
Ditto (1913 and 1914 programmes)	. 9

against which Germany will have :

Pre-Dreadnoughts	. 15
Dreadnoughts (including 1912 programme)	. 23
Ditto (1913 and 1914 programmes)	. 5

* i.e. The Navy Law Amendment Act.

The problem is to discover how far the sixteen-to-ten standard applies to these figures. To do so would seem at first sight simple enough, for Mr. Churchill's exposition was lucid; but the experience of a twelvemonth's output of statistics, set forth in far greater detail than is possible here, shows that there is certainly room for doubt. The figures have been examined by a contributor to the 'Times'*; by Mr. Arthur Lee in a letter to the same journal;† and by several other publicists, including so careful a statistician as Mr. Alan Burgoyne,‡ and Mr. John T. Middlemore.§ There have also been several answers to questions in the House of Commons, confirming the data from which the statisticians proceed, while leaving the main problem of the 60 per cent. margin of superiority exactly where Mr. Churchill placed it a year ago.

It appears to be necessary to seek for some explanation of the existence of a real difficulty in a seemingly simple problem. It cannot be a matter of indifference that a number of competent students handling the same problem, and working ostensibly from the same data, should reach different results. Yet such is the case, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the critics mentioned agree only in the general decision that the programme of new construction undertaken or promised does not meet the needs of the case as defined by the Admiralty itself. One cause of the discrepancy seems to lie in the account to be taken of the ships built or likely to be built to the order of the Dominions and Colonies. Another, and a more prolific source of error, may be found in the lax use of the term 'Dread-nought' as connoting a capital ship. What is a 'Dread-nought,' and what is a 'capital ship'?

We will recur later to an examination of the military qualities which are embodied in the so-called Dreadnought class of ship, and will at present content ourselves with saying that, for statistical purposes, the only point to be decided is whether the two ships 'Agamemnon' and 'Lord Nelson' ought to be classed with the Dreadnoughts or with the pre-Dreadnoughts. The point is of importance, for only avowed Dreadnoughts are admitted to the calculation of the 60 per cent. margin. With one consent the critics have omitted these two ships from the

* Dec. 12th 1912.
1912.

† Nov. 21st 1912.

‡ Observer, Dec. 15th
§ Morning Post, March 6th 1913.

account. On the other hand, the Admiralty appears to have included them in its calculations. The matter unfortunately is left in some doubt, for in his several statements Mr. Churchill has made no direct pronouncement concerning it. It may be inferred, however, from his speech of the 18th of March 1912, that the intention was that they should be included; for on that occasion the First Lord distinctly cited the King Edwards as being the most powerful of the pre-Dreadnought ships. By implication therefore he included the Lord Nelsons in the higher class. So too in an answer to a question published on the 17th of January. The question referred exclusively to Dreadnoughts, and Mr. Churchill called attention to the consequent necessity of excluding the Lord Nelsons from his answer. The confusion is to be regretted. It springs undoubtedly from the employment of the term 'Dreadnought' in a manner in which it should not be employed.

The original Dreadnought is a ship exhibiting certain novel features in her design, some of which have been developed to a remarkable extent in later ships, all of which are popularly spoken of as Dreadnoughts. By the adoption of this nomenclature no room is left for the classification of ships of a military value approximately equal to that of the original Dreadnought, or indeed of later ships of the type. The mere existence of such ships would be bound to lead to confusion, a thing which has actually come about in the case of the Lord Nelsons. Yet the remedy is simple. The Admiralty could, by a stroke of the pen, reintroduce the old system of rating ships. Thus the Dreadnought and her immediate successors might, together with the Lord Nelsons, be termed second rates; the latest battleships and battle cruisers might be dubbed first rates; and the older battleships might be assigned to the third rate. If desirable, and if the usage of the past should be held to warrant it (for the point is not quite clear), the first two rates collectively might well be termed 'capital ships.' Then there would be no confusion, for each ship would bear a substantive rating in proportion to her value. By the unscientific use of the term 'Dreadnought' the military value ascribed to each ship is left in doubt.

If we are right in concluding that, in the opinion of the Admiralty, the Lord Nelsons should rank with the Dreadnoughts, it may be shown that on March 31st, 1917, which

closes the period contemplated by Mr. Churchill, the strength of the Royal Navy in capital ships will be :

Lord Nelsons	2
Dreadnoughts (including ships of 1913 and 1914)	43

giving a total of forty-five without the inclusion of any of the ships built or to be built for the Dominions. At the same date the strength of the German Navy in similar ships will be twenty-eight. Sixty per cent. of twenty-eight is 16·8, approximately seventeen. Therefore if there were no complications, the strength of the Royal Navy would then stand almost exactly at the figure postulated by the sixteen-to-ten standard:

But it has to be remembered that the programmes of 1913 and 1914 include two British ships outside that standard, seeing that they are to be built as an answer to the one additional German ship included in the same programmes. The numbers therefore to be compared are not forty-five and twenty-eight, but forty-three and twenty-seven. The difference is slight enough to be practically negligible: in the one case the standard is exceeded by a small fraction, in the other it is not attained by an equally small fraction. Including the Lord Nelsons, therefore, it may be asserted that, at the rate of construction intended, the Admiralty will have reached the desired standard at the end of the period contemplated.

It follows that at that date the battle-cruiser *New Zealand*, ordered by the Dominion Government to serve temporarily with the British North Sea fleet, should be free to return to her home waters. At present, and for the immediate future, her presence in the North Sea is needed for the maintenance of the standard. Even when the ships of the 1912 programme are completed, i.e. on the 31st of March 1915, it will not be possible to release her from the North Sea, for at that date the Royal Navy, including the Lord Nelsons but not including the *New Zealand*, will be but thirty-six ships strong as against a German strength of twenty-three in completed capital ships. The due proportion by the Admiralty standard would be 36·8, i.e. thirty-seven, to twenty-three, and the higher number can only be attained by the retention of the Dominion ship.

These calculations, though minute, are not unnecessarily so, for, in the public sentiment, much depends on them. Within the past few months we have seen demands made in the

most important newspapers, and by means of questions in Parliament, for an immediate and considerable increase of our programme of capital ship construction. If our calculation is right, the inference is that the demand has arisen from a misconception as to the data of the problem. In that case, the Admiralty would be well advised to state the matter clearly to the country, without those ambiguities which have crept in owing to a lax use of undefined terms. The needs of the Navy are not limited to capital ships alone, and long experience has proved that an undue effort in one direction is apt to starve the Service in another. If no expenditure beyond what is already foreseen is necessary for the construction of capital ships, the Navy will be the less likely in the near future to go short of light cruisers, of docks, of torpedo craft, and of other costly matters in which it has from time to time been stinted.

It may probably suggest itself to the reader that if the present standard of force is so complicated and difficult to follow as would appear from the undoubted errors which have already been made concerning it, it can prove of little service to the public at large. Mr. Churchill, no doubt, was thinking rather of the experts than of the public when he described his plan as 'a plain and simple arrangement whereby, without any 'diplomatic negotiations or bargaining, without the slightest 'restriction on the sovereign freedom of either Power, this 'keen and costly naval rivalry can at any time be abated.' As a substitute for bargaining and negotiation for the 'reduction of armaments' the plan, whatever may be its future effect, holds the field. There has during the past year been a complete cessation of those diplomatic overtures from which pacifists recently hoped so much, and in which the horse-sense of the average observer detected a danger none the less real for being incurred with the most amiable intentions. Admiral von Tirpitz is reported to have said on the 12th of February, during the debate in the Budget Committee on the Navy Estimates, that 'negotiations on the relationship of 'the strength of the Navies are not being conducted, and have 'not been conducted for a long time past.' This method of tempting Providence has, at least for the time being, passed to that limbo of lost causes where other schemes, equally philanthropic and equally mischievous—such as the project, last put in practice by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, for

inducing a rival to reduce his armaments by setting him the example—await the fulness of time which shall bring them resurrection.

Whether Mr. Churchill's ingenious plan for the discounting of German naval expansion is destined to bear fruit cannot yet be foreseen ; but some, no doubt, will find an echo of it in the speech by Admiral von Tirpitz on February 12th :

‘ Mr. Churchill stated that the English Dreadnoughts were in a ratio of 1·6 to one German Dreadnought. This ratio is, in my opinion, acceptable for the battle fleet. It indicates that we do not intend, and never have intended, to enter into competition with England. It gives us such a measure of strength that it is difficult for anyone to attack us. This measure is attained by our Navy Acts, and we do not need more.’

Others, however, remembering that the latest German Navy Law Amendment Act carries within itself the germs of expansion, will look elsewhere for an explanation of this acquiescence, and will find it in Germany's decision that, at the present juncture, large additions must be made to her army. On a future occasion we may expect to be reminded that a reserve squadron is, and always has been, essential to the well-being of the German Navy, and to see steps taken to reconstitute such a squadron by the provision of additional ships. The most important effect of the last *Novelle* is to be the organisation of a third active-service battle squadron, partly by placing in full commission the ships of the squadron which has hitherto been held in reserve, partly by the building of those additional ships against which double provision has been made in this country. The new organisation cannot under existing arrangements be fully completed until 1920, by which date the reorganisation of the British fleet in European waters into eight battle squadrons will, in the absence of further complications, have been for some years in working order. The original intention was that the British scheme should be complete by 1915, and the progress made with it has been officially reported as satisfactory and more than was expected.

These schemes depend, of course, on the programme of construction regularly adopted in the two countries, but it will not be amiss to advert here to a matter which attracts more attention in Germany than in Great Britain. With some German writers it is a cause of persistent complaint against

Great Britain that her Admiralty has a large potential reserve of men-of-war of all classes, and especially of capital ships, in the ships which are under construction in Great Britain for foreign Powers. At present five such ships are building in England, viz. two for Chile, and one each for Japan, Brazil, and Turkey. On the other hand, only one large ship is under construction in Germany for any foreign Power, viz. a battleship for Greece. That Germany should be satisfied with this state of things is not to be expected; the ships, in case of emergency, would undoubtedly be taken up by the Government of the country in which they were being built, and in such case Great Britain would be a large gainer. The existing proportion of five to one is of course not constant, but it has been a persistent rule that the larger number of important foreign orders comes to England, and, in spite of strenuous attempts to remedy the inequality, but a small proportion goes to Germany. In this there is, of course, no legitimate grievance against Great Britain, but the fact certainly deserves more attention than it has received from the British public. It will be fresh in the memory of our readers that during the naval crisis of the spring of 1909 the suggestion was freely made in some quarters, though without the threat of immediate war, that the foreign ships building in England should be bought into the Navy. This course had been freely adopted in previous emergencies; that it was not followed in 1909 was due simply to the fact that a sufficient degree of urgency did not then exist.

In estimating the position in the North Sea, it is of importance to remember that, by her newly amended Navy Law, Germany will maintain in full commission a much larger proportion of her total floating force than is the case in England. It has already been suggested that this is likely to prove but a temporary expedient, leading to further expansion of the fleet in the near future; yet, by the plan adopted, there will be in full commission three battle squadrons of eight ships each, with a fleet flagship additional, together with eight large cruisers. The corresponding reserve squadrons will comprise two, each of eight battle-ships and four large cruisers. Further, by a very large expansion of the personnel, the readiness for service of the reserve ships will be much increased. Great Britain's plans, as we have seen, will be perfected at an earlier date than Germany's, but they aim at no such high proportion of ships in

full commission. Of the eight squadrons only four, with one fleet flagship, thus making thirty-three ships in all, will be in full commission. The nature of the reserve commission, which includes the remaining four battle squadrons, is generally understood and need not be here explained at length.

An important point, however, is that while the three German squadrons—numbering with their battle-cruisers thirty-three capital ships—will be massed in the North Sea, it will not be possible for Great Britain, under existing arrangements, similarly to concentrate her four battle squadrons with their battle-cruiser squadrons. The needs of the Mediterranean station have to be provided for out of this force, and the experience of the past autumn has shown that, even at present, it is easy to underestimate those needs. Mr. Churchill has stated that the proposed arrangement, not yet carried out, by which four battle-cruisers with four of the most powerful of the 'armoured cruisers' will be stationed in the Mediterranean, will serve our needs during 1913 and 1914; but that in 1915, when the new large capital ships of Austria and Italy enter into service, that force will no longer be adequate, and that its composition will have to be considered. Public opinion is undoubtedly anxious on this score. The country would like to see our four fully commissioned battle squadrons always at home, and it equally wishes to see a strong force in the Mediterranean. The difficulty is that these demands conflict, and that in the prospective state of our naval resources their fulfilment is impossible. Mr. Churchill has insisted that Great Britain must be self-sufficient in the Mediterranean—a statement which is generally acceptable. But he has not yet shown how this is to be done; for the view that a battle squadron at Gibraltar would be available for service in home waters is far from commending itself to the public.*

The time available is very short, and Mr. Churchill would do well to ask his advisers, if he has not already done so, to consider what measures will be necessary for the service of the Mediterranean in 1915. It is possible that it was the knowledge of this coming need which prompted the magnificent offers of immediate assistance made by Canada and by the

* Mr. Churchill's announcement, made on 26th March 1913, that an 'Imperial squadron will be formed and based on Gibraltar,' touches this problem but does not solve it.

Malay States. If so, the question at issue between the Government and the Opposition in Canada may well be much more than one of organisation and method: it may involve the principle of a squadron to be employed in the Mediterranean. From reports of the debates in the Canadian Parliament published here, so much has not been specifically stated; the employment of the prospective ships under the direct control of the Admiralty as an emergency measure has only been treated of in general terms. The words used by Mr. Borden in introducing his naval proposals were most significant. 'These 'ships,' he said, 'are urgently required, within two or three 'years at the outside, for rendering aid upon which may 'depend the Empire's future existence'; and in other passages of his speech he made it clear that the employment proposed for them at the date of their completion would not be in Canadian waters. Through all the debate, both inside the Dominion Parliament and outside, it has been quite clearly recognised that such employment is to be merely a temporary measure, that the ships will revert presently to Canadian waters, and consequently that they will have to be replaced by others before they can be set free from the station on which they are employed in the meantime.

There is seemingly no hope of relief for the Mediterranean problem from the battle squadrons in reserve in home waters. These squadrons are of obsolescent ships, some of them the identical ships which were recently withdrawn from the Mediterranean. Clearly they could not again be sent thither. It is interesting and important, however, to notice that in the Admiralty Memorandum [Cd. 6513] read by Mr. Borden on the 5th of December in introducing his naval proposals, it is pointed out that by mobilising the reserves at home the Admiralty could provide at need an important force for action in the Pacific. As a step in this direction one old battleship is being sent out as flagship on the East India station and another in reserve to Hong Kong.

These considerations show how 'the sea is all one,' how the needs of the North Sea exercise a direct effect on the position of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, and in still more distant seas. But throughout these kaleidoscopic changes, actual and prospective, it is possible to keep in sight the main course of action which seems gradually to be leading to a solution. The

tendency is to regard the provision of adequate naval forces in Europe as the peculiar business of Great Britain, and to look forward to a time, perhaps not far distant, when the massed forces of the great Dominions shall be able to declare themselves responsible for the keeping of the distant seas, and more especially of the Pacific. The problems to be faced in the bringing about of such a consummation are many and difficult. The mere question of building the requisite ships, great and important as it is, is but the beginning. The ships have to be manned, and manned by colonial crews ; the crews have to be trained ; necessary establishments of all kinds to be provided ; and a place to be found for the whole new structure within the limits of British foreign policy. It is a great ideal, and the first steps towards it seem to have been wisely and carefully taken. Not the least important of these is the calling of statesmen from the Dominions to sit on the Committee of Imperial Defence. That is a movement from which much may come. There are some who think that this form of Imperial consolidation is likely to prove elusive ; and that an Empire which coalesces only under the pressure of external force is likely to disintegrate as soon as that force is removed. The answer is that the pressure of external force is already present, and that even the clearest vision cannot see a time when it will be relaxed.

Behind this anxiety as to the position in the North Sea, and inspiring it, is the dread of an invasion of Great Britain by Germany. There is a very common tendency to exaggerate this danger, and to exaggerate the number of troops which could conceivably be passed across a doubtfully commanded, or an uncommanded sea. The theme has provoked more discussion than any other unknown to theologians. It is impossible to pass the question entirely by, but instead of attempting to produce new arguments it is sufficient for the moment to quote one or two striking utterances. In a most able letter contributed to the ' Westminster Gazette ' of the 3rd of March 1913 Sir Cyprian Bridge says :

' There have been, and still are, people who—though living in a sea-surrounded State, though belonging to a maritime nation, and though having unusually good means of knowing what a navy can do—have no belief in the efficiency of naval defence. There were such people in the days of Drake and Raleigh ; in the days of Samuel Pepys ; in the days of the younger Pitt and Sir John Jervis ; and in the days of the builders of the Spithead forts. As regards

questions of defence, these people opposed their view to that of the sailors. Untrained lay opinion was on one side ; expert professional opinion was on the other. On every occasion on which the opposing opinions could be submitted to a practical test that of the sailors turned out to be right, and that of the people opposed to them turned out to be wrong.'

With equal lucidity the whole question of naval defence is summarised by Mr. Hannay in his excellent little book on the Navy and Sea Power :

' Neither Blue Water nor Green Earth is entitled to set any limit within the bounds of the physically possible, to what may be effected by genius and energy against folly and timidity. All we are entitled to say is that, given the vigorous and intelligent use of the weapon, then the fleet is the one effectual defence against what another fleet can do in the way of attack ; and the Blue Water School is amply justified in brushing aside as pure ineptitude all talk about leaving the fleet free to attend to its proper duties by providing an army to defeat invasion. The army cannot act till the invasion has taken place, and the proper duty of the fleet is to stop it at its " port of departure." '

Apart from the threat of invasion, it must be remembered that the interests, and even the safety, of Great Britain may be menaced by Germany, or indeed in certain conditions by any great military continental Power, by other means. There is the risk that Germany, or any potential enemy, might aim at strengthening herself abroad in a manner prejudicial to British interests even while at peace with England. It is, for example, admitted that the safety and welfare of this country are intimately bound up with the integrity of the Low Countries ; yet in the Introduction to the ' Barham Papers,'* published a few years ago by the Navy Records Society, it is shown how the aggression of a great land power on the Netherlands was foiled only by the menace of a superior fleet, which, in the event, was not called upon to act :

' The mistake is not likely to be repeated ; and we may feel sure that, in the future, any nation proposing an armed interference with the Government of the Low Countries will take care, as a preliminary measure, to place its navy on a satisfactory footing.'

It may be that history will repeat itself in Holland ; and that Germany may attempt to gain there by encroachment a position prejudicial to this country. Indeed it is not clear

* Vol. ii. pp. 18, 19.

that she has not already made such an attempt on a small scale at the mouth of the Ems, by a pretension to regulate the sea frontier to her own direct advantage.* Great Britain cannot afford to be blind even to the threat of such movements, and if it should become necessary to 'call the bluff' she must call it in good time. In order to be able to do so, it is above all things necessary that she should 'keep well the sea.' This forces her to maintain in home waters, during peace, a large proportion of her navy waiting for emergencies in the North Sea. The resulting disadvantage to the personnel of the navy is especially obvious to old sailors whose service afloat has led them as a matter of course through the Seven Seas. Admiral Fitzgerald, who has recently published an interesting and entertaining autobiographical volume, is such a sailor, and his opinion, expressed with that direct humour which his readers will expect from him, may be regarded as typical :

'We don't want the navy manned with tame cats and domesticated spaniels, but with hardy seamen, who think more of their ship and their duty than of getting on shore to their wives and families every second night when the ship is in harbour. No doubt one of the great difficulties which a commanding officer now has to contend with arises from the fact that five-sixths of our fighting ships are kept hanging around the coasts of Great Britain, and all hands with one eye on the shore and the other on the ship. In former days we never used to think we could *begin* to get our ships into real proper order until we were clear of the home ports and well out in blue water, on our way to the Mediterranean or some other station.' †

In all the calculations of relative force which have been so far engaging us, we have been obliged, as a matter of course, to take the existing state of things as our basis, to consider our ships of force as super-Dreadnoughts, armoured with steel plates of great thickness and weight, and armed with guns of monstrous size. Public sentiment has demanded these ; successive Boards of Admiralty have approved of them, and successive constructors have furnished them. This is not saying that we agree that they are the best form in which naval defence can be provided, or in which the money provided for naval defence can be expended. For many years we have from time to time raised our voice in protesting against this

* 'A German Encroachment,' Morning Post, 1 March 1913.

† 'Memories of the Sea,' by Admiral Penrose Fitzgerald, p. 222.

exaggeration of ships and guns, and we welcome the exceedingly able little volume in which Sir Reginald Custance has examined the question by the special light of scientific gunnery, and of naval history.

The problem, as it appeared to Sir Reginald, was, What type of capital ship has been in the past, and is likely to be in the future, the best adapted to the needs of actual war? The evidence he adduces is from the records of past battles, and from diagrams of concentration of gun-fire. It is manifestly impossible in the space at our command to reproduce this evidence, even in the baldest abstract; but the conclusions arrived at are: That very thick armour is not wanted, and by its weight is a hindrance to carrying a greater number of guns; that the best defence against an enemy's fire is a superiority in the volume of fire; that it is not true to assume, as is commonly done, that 'on the average one 850-lb. 12-inch shell' will damage the fighting efficiency of the ship as much as will 'eight 100-lb. 6-inch.' The whole argument leads to the conclusion that ships of moderate size, of moderate armour, and carrying the much greater number of guns of moderate calibre so rendered possible, will give the most advantageous result for any given outlay of money. It is a recurrence to the time-honoured maxim that numbers only—ships and guns—can annihilate.

Incidentally Sir Reginald throws considerable doubt upon the value of the torpedo, in his opinion much overestimated. That great improvements have been recently made in the Whitehead torpedo is certain—in the weight of the charge carried, in speed, range, and accuracy; but his argument is that the experience of the most recent war showed that the torpedo of that date, ostensibly a most formidable weapon, was quite unable to live up to its peace reputation. We have no guarantee that the improved torpedo, opposed by the improved gun and the improved ship, will do relatively better than its predecessor. But though the weapon is probably overrated it is, if only owing to the moral threat it holds out, not one that can be laid aside.

Whether this weapon, which has hitherto failed to give good results when discharged from surface vessels, will be likely to prove of much service when brought into action by submarine boats, is a further question which does not enter into the problem which Sir Reginald Custance has set himself

to solve. But it may confidently be suggested that experience is likely to repeat with the submarine the lesson of the torpedo-boat, and that those who look to the submarine for great results will probably be disappointed. This type of craft has in fact not yet been put to the test of war. It has been developed to a pitch of great mechanical ingenuity, at a high cost in money and at grave expense of human life. It cannot therefore lightly be laid aside. But it is inadvisable, in default of experience, to look to it for very great achievements.

In at least one not unimportant respect Sir Reginald's criticisms have been anticipated, or rather, it would perhaps be more correct to say, have borne good fruit. The system of classification of men-of-war, which proceeded entirely from material conditions, and to which he urges serious objection, has been swept away for ships of all but the highest classes. Notably the term 'armoured-cruiser,' to which Sir Reginald justly takes exception as being particularly misleading and dangerous, has disappeared from the Navy List. It is a subject for congratulation, and, though seemingly a small matter, is indicative of clear perception on the part of the Board of Admiralty. It is to be hoped that the Board will presently go still further and reform the classification of our 'battle-ships' and 'battle-cruisers.' Indeed, the progress of events seems likely to force their hands in the matter, for, according to the most recent information, the two types in ships already under construction for the Royal Navy are to be merged into one, and that one will be the 'capital ship,' as were the two from which it had its origin.

It is not possible to close a discussion which has concerned itself chiefly with the prospects of warfare in the North Sea without some reference to the menace so commonly said to be held out by airships and aeroplanes. It is certain that great technical progress has been made in the development of these craft. It is, further, quite possible that they may exercise an important influence on the course of a future war; but in attempting to estimate what the dangers really held out by this new arm are, it is essential to remember that it has as yet no record of achievement in war. We suggest that the time is one rather for systematic study and experiment than for the indiscriminate adoption, as many would appear to think, of comprehensive schemes. Mr. Bonar Law was premature, if not

self-contradictory, when he said on the 18th of March, at Manchester, that 'No one can doubt that the development 'of that science [aviation] has altered the whole strategical 'position of every country in the world,' and followed up the statement by saying that 'Nobody knows what the effect of 'it may be.' Nobody does know. The strategical aspect of this new science is entirely different from the scientific, although at the present time popular opinion seems unable to distinguish between the two.

Postscript.—It is not surprising that the suggestion for a 'naval holiday,' which Mr. Churchill made in introducing this year's Navy Estimates on the 26th March, should have been received in Germany with mingled incredulity and scorn. Very little consideration will show the impossibility of any such plan. It would involve the shipbuilding and other firms concerned in ruinous loss; it would throw great numbers of artisans out of employment; it would in fact shake to its foundations the whole fabric of an industry, the welfare of which is only less essential in Germany than in Great Britain. The interests affected would undoubtedly be found to be opposed to the 'holiday'; and the great shipbuilding and armament firms, at any rate in Germany, have considerable political power. It is also to be noticed that the plan could be effective only if adopted by every maritime Power. It would not be enough if only the great Powers with whose competition Great Britain is directly concerned agreed to it, for such an agreement would not affect the building of men-of-war in this country for the lesser Powers; and it is inconceivable that Germany or her allies would acquiesce in the building of this potential reserve of ships during a 'holiday.' The proposal indeed should not have been made. Its utmost effect is likely to be the encouragement of the belief, already held in some quarters, that England is tired of the naval struggle, and is appealing *ad misericordiam* to Germany.

Lest it should excite wonder that this visionary suggestion should be included in an otherwise practical statement of policy, we would point out that Mr. Churchill, like Charles II. though with opposite results, depends on his advisers for his plans and on himself for his words.

THE WRITINGS OF LORD REDESDALE

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4. *The Garter Mission to China.* By LORD REDESDALE, G.C.V.O. Macmillan. 1906.
5. *A Tale of Old and New Japan.* By LORD REDESDALE, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. Essex House Press, Campden. 1906.
6. *A Tragedy in Stone and other Studies.* By LORD REDESDALE, G.C.V.O., K.C.B. John Lane. 1912.

THERE can be little doubt that criticism in England is apt to give a preponderating eminence to the prose-writer who weaves his texture out of his own emotion and reflection, as did the founders of the British essay, Bacon and Cornwallis. 'Of Honour and Reputation,' 'Of Gardens,' such were the subjects with which our essayists began, and the practice has been continued through those of the eighteenth century, through Charles Lamb and Stevenson, down to the host of more or less brilliant writers who spin their web to-day out of the body of their own consciousness. The result has been to place such prose-writers as have described actual experiences, particularly in unfamiliar countries, a little outside the pale of pure literature, of what is called *belles-lettres*, so that although they may devote themselves with life-long pertinacity to the cultivation of an individual and admirable style, although the amount of cerebral energy which they expend may be of a superior quality, they yet run the danger of being excluded from general acceptance as leading authors of their day, each work of theirs being taken on its own merits of information, and no attempt being ever made to judge their work as a whole, or to assert for it a place in the durable literature of their country. This has been, to a remarkable degree, the fate of the highly accom-

plished and graceful writer for whom we suggest general consideration to-day.

Fifty years have passed since a young diplomatist, who had already distinguished himself at Oxford, was called upon to proceed to St. Petersburg in the service of the English Foreign Office. Algernon Bertram Mitford, who had just completed his twenty-sixth year, belonged to a family which had been long eminent in politics and literature. William Mitford, whose 'History of Greece' is still a classic; Mary Russell Mitford, of 'Our Village'; John Mitford, the critic and editor of the poets; the first Earl of Redesdale, whom many still remember as the picturesque and autocratic Chairman of Committees; that 'perturbèd spirit' Lord Chancellor Redesdale: all these and more had testified in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the vital energy of their Northumbrian race. On the mother's side, the future traveller was connected with a noble family of long descent, for his mother was Lady Georgiana Ashburnham, the sister of Swinburne's mother. The blood of books ran in the boy's veins, together with a spirit of adventure, a high curiosity and a certain intellectual courage that was aristocratic in the best sense. How early this was encouraged by accident, Lord Redesdale has lately discovered to the world. His wonderful cousin was but a few weeks his junior, and in his 'Letter on Swinburne at Eton' (1912), the elder has admitted us to some precious reminiscences. The two boys were inseparable friends, and the atmosphere in which they lived, from the age of twelve to that of fifteen, was doubtless unique in the school-life of the time.

'[Swinburne's] first love in literature was given to the English poets, and after, or together with, these he devoured the great classics of France and Italy. His memory was wonderful, his power of quotation almost unlimited. We used to take long walks together in Windsor Forest and in the Home Park, where the famous oak of Herne the Hunter was still standing, a white, lightning-blasted skeleton of a tree, a fitting haunt for "faeries, black, grey, green and white" and a very favourite goal of our expeditions. As he walked along with that peculiar dancing step of his, his eyes gleaming with enthusiasm, and his hair, like the Zazzera of the old Florentines, tossed about by the wind, he would pour out in his unforgettable voice the treasures which he had gathered at his last sitting. Other boys would watch him with amazement, looking upon him as a sort of inspired elfin—something belonging to another sphere.'

From Eton Algernon Mitford proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford, where he received the Slade Exhibition from the hands of the venerable Dean, Thomas Gaisford, who died a few days later. The lad had already a strong penchant for languages and a great facility in acquiring them. As a child he had been brought up to speak French, German, and English indifferently. At Eton he had been well grounded in the classics, and now he turned to Greek with passion. It was Greek, under the guidance of W. E. Jelf and of Osborne Gordon, which formed him. He had his favourites and his petulant prejudices. Into Homer and Herodotus he flung himself ardently, but the lyrical poets, except Pindar, had little attraction for him, and, like his cousin, he nourished a fantastic aversion to Euripides. He has recorded that he detested Thucydides, and continues to detest him. These are foibles which at least give evidence of a clear direction of taste. His consuming love of languages pointed him out as specially equipped for the Diplomatic Service, and after winning several college exhibitions, he abandoned the University and entered the Foreign Office at the age of twenty-one. After five years of clerical work in London, he was attached to the Embassy at St. Petersburg in 1863.

Of his adventures in Russia, Lord Redesdale has told us little or nothing. It was a stirring and an anxious time. The great Polish insurrection was in full blast. The enormous horde of exiles sent out of Poland into Siberia shocked the sensibility of Europe. English opinion was painfully affected by the official murder of an English subject in the streets of Warsaw. How much or how little of public affairs the young diplomatist saw he will, it is to be hoped, tell us one of these days. But his thoughts seem to have gravitated, already, eastward rather than westward. It was in St. Petersburg that, having acquired some knowledge of the Russian language, he became deeply interested in the problems of the Far East, and determined to study Chinese. In this connexion, he has given us a brief but valuable indication :

‘ Before translating from Chinese and Japanese I was accustomed to read a little in the Bible. It is the best of all models for the translator of an Oriental language. On the other hand, before writing something original, something (that is) of my own, I have made it my practice to read a little Shakespeare or a page of Addison,

though I never attempted to imitate either. It was mental schooling. But Greek has always been what I believe to be my model.'

In February 1865 Mitford proceeded to China, where his experiences belong to a volume to which we shall return later on. But in October 1866 he took the step which brought him to the field in which he was most prominently to distinguish himself, and in which he was to find his earliest literary inspiration, namely Tokio, the new capital of the Japanese State. For the next five years Japan was his home, and he threw himself with ardour into the literature, the language, the art, and the customs of the mysterious Island Empire. No other country was calculated at that moment to stir the curiosity of a young man of imagination so much as Japan. At the present date, certainly since the death of Captain Brinkley (28th of October 1912), there is no Englishman living, unless it be Sir Ernest Satow, who shares with Lord Redesdale a personal recollection of the inner history of that extraordinary time. It was a period of violent transition, in which the vestiges of antiquity clashed with the revolutionary element of change. But Japan was feudal still; the policy of national isolation was still in force; and still the European took his life in his hand when he penetrated a country in which to murder the foreigner was held to be an act of virtue.

We have, however, neither space nor wish in this article to deal with the subjects of Lord Redesdale's compositions. As our object is rather to call attention to his literary methods, we will simply give, from his elaborate account of the Hara-kiri, a fragment of his own strange experience. It was his duty to be present at the execution of Taki Zenzaburô, the noble who, in his fanatical zeal for the ancient customs of Japan, gave the order to fire on the foreign settlement at Hiogo in February 1868. The etiquette of the court, the silken courtesies of everyone concerned, the solemn conclave of seven Japanese and seven foreigners in front of the high altar in the ancient Seifukuji temple, the approach of the exquisite assassin, his obeisances and his confession, have been described by the young English attaché, whose fortune it was to be present at so thrilling a ceremony; and then he continues:

'Bowling once more, [Taki Zenzaburô] allowed his upper garments to slip down to his girdle, and remained naked to the waist.

Carefully, according to custom, he tucked his sleeves under his knees to prevent himself from falling backwards ; for a noble Japanese gentleman should die falling forwards. Deliberately, with a steady hand, he took the dirk that lay before him ; he looked at it wistfully, almost affectionately ; for a moment he seemed to collect his thoughts for the last time ; and then stabbing himself deeply below the waist on the left-hand side, he drew the dirk slowly across to the right side, and, turning it in the wound, gave a slight cut upwards. During this sickeningly painful operation he never moved a muscle of his face. When he drew out the dirk, he leaned forward and stretched out his neck ; an expression of pain for the first time crossed his face, but he uttered no sound. At that moment the *kaishaku* [assistant to the condemned, as executioner], who, still crouching by his side, had been keenly watching his every movement, sprang to his feet, poised his sword for a second in the air ; there was a flash, a heavy ugly thud, a crashing fall ; with one blow the head had been severed from the body.

In forming, under conditions of so extraordinary a rarity, his impressions of the life of Japan, past and present and in transition, Mr. Mitford brought to his service a fine acuteness of observation. In all that he afterwards published regarding these wonderful experiences, we see displayed the gift which a delicately trained artist possesses in the selection and the crystallisation of the salient instances among the myriad facts which pass before him. His tireless curiosity about exotic things, and his power to transfer his impressions in an interesting form to us, give vivacity to his short, concentrated, and vivid reports of matters which he heard, or saw, or read, during his five years in that primeval Japan of which he is now, in his own lifetime, become almost the solitary historic witness. His feeling for natural scenery, and his freedom, in this respect, from Western prejudice, gave an additional charm to all that he noted. The careful reader of his Japanese studies will not fail to mark how the landscape melts, unobtrusively, into the suavity and horror of his narratives. Where the action is most violent, where the ethical laws laid down are the most extravagantly opposed to our ideas, Mr. Mitford preserves, behind it all, his sense of silence, of gravity, of the beautiful emptiness of holy places lost in the solitude of groves of giant cryptomeria. A prominent place in all his writings about Japan is occupied by the sense of its profoundly emotional landscape.

Mr. Mitford had long been making his notes and polishing his paraphrases, but it was not until 1869 that he made his first appearance in print. He sent home his 'Japanese Sermons' to the 'Cornhill,' which magazine, though not yet overtly edited by Leslie Stephen, was already under his general direction. It would be like the sure and unprejudiced habit of that prince of editors to see the merit in papers so remote and odd as these. In 'Japanese Sermons' the author relates how, on three successive occasions, in a garden adorned by stone lanterns and dwarfed trees, in the temple of Chô-ô-ji, he listened to religious discourses by the famous theologian Kiu-ô. This was the scene of these devotions:

'In the portion of the room reserved for the priest stood a high table, covered with a cloth of white and scarlet silk, richly embroidered with flowers and arabesques; upon this stood a bell, a tray containing the rolls of the sacred books, and a small incense-burner of ancient Chinese porcelain. Before the table was a hanging drum, and behind it was one of those high, back-breaking arm-chairs which adorn every Buddhist temple. In one corner of the space destined for the accommodation of the faithful was a low writing-desk, at which sat, or rather squatted, a lay clerk, armed with a huge pair of horn spectacles, through which he glared, goblin-like, at the people. . . . The congregation seemed poor enough. It was principally composed of old women, nuns with bald, shiny pates and grotesque faces, a few petty tradesmen, and half a dozen chubby children, perfect little models of decorum and devoutness.'

In these 'Sermons' the candour of Japanese religious sentiment was revealed in a manner which bewildered Western readers. But they attracted a good deal of notice, and the 'Saturday Review,' then conspicuous for its omniscience, had the courage to pronounce them forgeries.

It was in 1871, and immediately after the return of the young diplomatist from Yedo, that there appeared in London his first book, 'Tales of Old Japan.' If the present writer may be permitted a reminiscence, it must have been in the year 1872 that, a juvenile novice in the august company of what had been called the Pre-Raphaelites, I happened to be in the house of Dante Gabriel Rossetti in Cheyne Walk. On a table in the studio two fantastic-looking volumes were lying, bound in black with a vivid design in gold, such as

was then almost unprecedented, except by Rossetti himself. As my hand touched one of these volumes nonchalantly, the poet-painter said, in his massive way, 'Ah! you should 'read that! It is the first Western revelation that has ever 'been made of the soul of the Japanese!' This was my introduction to a book which was then being widely discussed, and which, whatever is produced about Japanese literature, must continue to be read. Rossetti, like so many *Japonisants* of that day, like Whistler pre-eminently, was bewildered by the specimens then reaching Europe of the rich and fascinating art of the extreme East, an art which the West still regarded as a beautiful maze without a plan. What did it all mean, this profusion of colour and mystery, these pictures of natural phenomena executed in so disquieting a form, these celebrations of an obscure deity acting unaccountably on some unknown order of things? What were these images of heroes and dancing-girls, emperors and wrestlers, seas and rocks and foxes, all, to our stupefaction, presented to us as *Kami*, gods? Was a history running through it all, a thread, a continuity of moral and æsthetic meaning? Those were days when European connoisseurship knew but one Japanese painter by name, and that was Hokusai. With the solitary and doubtful exception of Léon Pagès, no one had published a work in any European language which threw a true light on the meaning or the sources of Japanese imagination.

It is impossible to think of Lord Redesdale without instituting some comparison between his intellectual attitude and that of a brilliant Frenchman who followed him in many places some fifteen years later. The genius of Pierre Loti is one of the most polished, calculated, and unspontaneous in the literature of the nineteenth century. Its effects, and its shortcomings, are due to the extremely conscious art which the author never ceases to practise. The style of Lord Redesdale is more artless, but there are moods in which we may think it, in its own way, not less precious. Loti is unmatched in the brilliance of the lacquer, if we may so call it, in which he reproduces the external forms and colours of a scene, of an adventure, of an experience. His periods never falter, his adjectives are invariably successful. But his English and elder fellow-traveller, less brilliantly equipped as a writer,

not infrequently gives us a truer because a deeper impression of reality.

In the marvellous pictures of Japan which Loti has painted, in 'Madame Chrysanthème' in particular, the scene is exquisite, but the figures are trivial and scarcely intelligible. It was the singular merit of Mr. Mitford in 'Tales of Old Japan' that he made the Japanese man or woman, for the first time, an interesting human being. The French traveller treats the soul of his little devoted flower-girl as the most insignificant thing in the world; she has hardly more moral existence than her fan or her lute. But in 'Tales of Old Japan' there was an exposition, never achieved before by a European, of the inner life of the Empire, of its religion, its morals, its ways of thought, the hidden springs by which its citizens moved. All this was exposed by a young Englishman (versed, as M. Loti is not, in the vernacular), who had steeped himself in the untracked forest of the native mythology, and who had formed his impressions while climbing to monasteries on the pine-fringed shores of the Bay of Yedo; while sailing by night with the fishermen whose torches glowed like fireflies; or while wandering, with a Japanese friend, up the goblin-haunted slopes of Oyama.

The opening story of 'The Forty-seven Rôlins' is the most famous and perhaps the most imposing of these tales of feudal Japan. The very existence of a 'rôlin,' a 'wave-man,' who is tossed hither and thither in the zeal of his devotion to his lord, is characteristic of a code of honour outside our Western experience. What these tales of love and war and intrigue and devotion most stirringly remind us of, from an ethical point of view, is the romantic saga-world of ancient Iceîand. How remote are we from Danyémon, who because he had been foiled when engaged in his master's business, went to the burial-place of his ancestors, and disembowelled himself in front of their graves! Here are instances of impassioned loyalty, of devotion worthy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton; here is a mixture of gentleness and violence, of discourteous brutality and delicate consideration, of laws which our consciences resent, and of duties which strike us as the very essence of dereliction. Because Genzaburô, the most romantic of aristocratic striplings, has loved O Koyo, a maid of low degree, his property is confiscated, his family blotted out, and he

himself banished. The story of the Otokodate of Yedo, a company of secret allies sworn to hold together in all emergencies, is essentially a noble one, and is told by Lord Redesdale with incomparable art and vigour; the entrance of Banzayémon into the house of Sanza at night is a masterpiece of narrative that we can hardly forbear to quote; but what were the moral forces actuating deeds so heroic and amazing, and where, for the feudal Japanese, ran the line dividing honour from dishonour,—this indeed it would be difficult for a philosopher to decide. Lord Redesdale attempts no union between the unrelated. With a sober eloquence, he translates or paraphrases the extraordinary sagas of Japan, untroubled by their curious code of ethics. He is as much at home among goblin-beasts, nocturnal flights of phantom badgers, cats, and foxes, as he is among cut-throat bravos, brocaded ladies with gilded lips, and fanatics drunken with the violence of their own filial piety.

It is difficult, in a general survey of Lord Redesdale's works, to find the proper place for a discussion of his book on China. 'The Attaché at Peking' was not published until 1900, but it mainly consists of letters sent home in the years 1865 and 1866. It is therefore essentially the earliest of the author's writings, and exhibits his powers of observation and description as they were developed at the age of twenty-eight. But it contains a very long and important preface, and an appendix on 'How 'a Mandarin is made,' which were composed thirty-five years later, and which deal with much more modern aspects of China than are exhibited in the body of the volume. The letters themselves, though posted one after the other to the writer's father in England, form what is really a journal. They are written with less intensity of expression and less regard for the concentrated value of language than Mr. Mitford afterwards acquired. The reflections are sometimes a little commonplace, and 'The Attaché in Peking,' at all events in its earlier sections, may be considered as immature work. Nevertheless, the record of this romantic journey and sojourn may still be read with instruction, and often with pleasure.

It was in February 1865 that the young diplomatist was attached to Peking, and he landed in Hong-Kong towards the end of April. From Hong-Kong he went to Canton, with

which he was grievously disappointed. The city bore signs of the punishment inflicted on it by the bombardment of 1856, but there were still grotesque and terrible temples in which the wild genius of Chinese architecture could be instructively studied. Mr. Mitford's next visit was paid to Shanghai, which he found still uglier and still less intelligible than Canton. The voice of the East did not yet speak to him in music, and his impressions of what he saw, if vivid, were superficial. There was little to appease his natural sense of disappointment in the hovels of Chihfu or in the mud-banks of Taku, and it was not till he found himself at Tientsing that the attaché began to be subdued to the charm of China. The journey on to Peking through limitless fields of millet and along roads that were miracles of badness, was wearisome and dull; and the traveller arrived in the mysterious capital travel-stained and weary. He rode, dispirited and disillusioned, through a gate in the dark grey walls of Peking, and the first thing which revived his failing curiosity was the extraordinary vision of the Imperial Palace, 'covered with highly-glazed yellow tiles, with towers at the corners shining like gold in the azure.'

From this moment, the temperature of the narrative rises, and the peculiar art of the writer asserts itself. We may, henceforth, without too great an effort, compare his pages with those which Peking inspired M. Pierre Loti to write thirty-seven years later. The English traveller has the advantage of long priority; he saw the marvellous capital of the Far East at an earlier moment, and therefore in a more romantic light than could be found there after the Allies had rudely disturbed its secular repose. He provided himself with a teacher immediately, and sat down to conquer what must always remain a language very repellent to a European, and one which in those days found few Western proficients. 'I have taken a header into Chinese,' he writes (23rd of June 1865), 'and am floundering about in a sea of difficulties.' At first, his teacher and he gazed 'at one another in a hopeless state of unintelligibility,' until the professor would give signs of having a stomach-ache and would abruptly take his leave. However, with a pupil so eager and so apt, progress was soon rapid, and to concentrate his powers on his intellectual task, Mr. Mitford, taking his teacher with him, withdrew to a hermitage among

the hills to the west of Peking. This is how he describes his scholastic retreat :—

‘ Our temple is called “ Pi Yün Ssü,” “ the Temple of the Azure “ Clouds,” a romantic name, and certainly the place is worthy of it. It is built on terraces ascending the hill to a length of about half a mile, and on every terrace is a shrine, each more beautiful (if that is the proper word to apply to the grotesque buildings of this country) than the last ; black and white marble statues and vases, bronze dragons, alto-relievos and basso-relievos representing kings and warriors, gods and goddesses, and fabulous monsters, all of rare workmanship—incriptions graven on marble and stone and bronze, or gilt upon wood, meet one at every step ; and the whole is set in a nest of rock-work, fountains, woods and gardens. . . . This little place commands a panoramic view over the plain, with the walls and towers of Peking in the distance. Our habitation consists of several little houses on one side of the temple. We dine in an open pavilion, surrounded by a pond and artificial rockery, with ferns and mosses in profusion. High trees shade it from the sun, and close by us a cold fountain pours out of the rock into the pond, so that we can ice our wine to perfection. . . . I have my teacher with me here, and work with him at the language from breakfast to dinner. For the rest of the day, I carry about my lessons written on paper fans.’

Here his learned studies were disturbed by the chatter of armies of tree cigalas and by flights of pigeons with Æolian harps tied to their tails ; by scorpions in the furniture and by lizards on the stairs ; but he mastered, with remarkable rapidity, the mysteries of the Chinese language. He needed the consolations of literature, since life, which had soon to be spent again in the stink and dust of Peking, proved painfully monotonous.

The acquaintance which Mr. Mitford gained with the language of China was immediately of great service to him in his diplomatic capacity. He was able to converse with the mandarins, and many amusing pages of ‘ The Attaché ’ are occupied with reports of these tortuous and ingenious communications. The society of China is curiously complex, and the young Englishman was deeply interested in observing its peculiarities. He was able to make this investigation with particular success in Peking, because the form of Chinese spoken there by high and low is practically a medium of conversation with the educated classes throughout the Empire,—or should we now say the Republic ? Mr. Mitford’s

study of the Chinese language, and the difficulties which he experienced for lack of books, led to the production of Sir Thomas Wade's famous educational works. Mr. Mitford was, in fact, the *corpus vile* upon which Wade tested the accuracy of his conversational exercises. These were the earliest guides to a knowledge of Chinese. Professor Giles did not, till many years later, by his 'History of Chinese Literature' and by his 'Chinese-English Dictionary,' hew out for English students a double roadway through that pathless jungle.

It is remarkable that the conspicuous success of 'Tales of Old Japan' did not confirm Mr. Mitford in the career of an author. But it is a fact that for many years he retired from the public practice of literature. In his early days he had formed an acquaintance which presently ripened into a friendship with Richard Burton, with whose daringly original mind and exotic curiosity his own nature was strongly in sympathy. When Mr. Mitford arrived from Oxford at the Foreign Office in 1858, he was attached to the Slave Trade Department, and in this capacity he became known to Burton, who was sixteen years his senior, and of a temperament vividly to impress a young and ardent intelligence. On his return from North America, Burton haunted the Foreign Office with a view to his nomination to some consular post in Equatorial Africa. The romantic revelations of Du Chaillu filled him with emulation and distrust, and he burned to prove that the adventurer was boasting when he pretended to enjoy even a speaking acquaintance with the gorilla. Mr. Mitford was serviceable to Burton in this matter, and had something to do with the success of his enterprise. In 1861 Burton was appointed British Consul at Fernando Po, and strongly urged Mitford to accompany him to his tropic island. This, however, was impossible for family reasons.

When Mr. Mitford returned at last to England, Burton had been transferred to Damascus, where, in 1871, the long-deferred meeting took place. During Mr. Mitford's visit, the learned consul placed in his hands an interesting paper. It was the first story in the famous translation of 'The Arabian Nights' which did not see the light in completion until 1885. Mr. Mitford was appointed Secretary to Her Majesty's Office of Works in 1874, and the arduous duties of this post prevented, during twelve of the best years

of his life, any recurrence of authorship. There exist, however, interesting traces of the survival of his literary attitude of mind during those years of administration and those of parliamentary responsibility which followed. 'A Tragedy in Stone' (1882) is a kind of poem dedicated to the vicissitudes of the Tower of London, an edifice which had exercised over the author, from early childhood, the most enthralling fascination, and of which, by a strange fate, he now unexpectedly found himself the guardian. His work of restoring the Tower, degraded as it was by all manner of Georgian and Early Victorian horrors, to something of its antique dignity and beauty, was perhaps the central incident of Mr. Mitford's career at the Office of Works. His 'Tragedy in Stone' contains, among many things of vivid interest, a wonderful account of the discovery of the spot where the bones of Anne Boleyn were buried; and from this we cannot resist extracting a page that vibrates with emotion:

'There could be no sadder duty than the unearthing of these precious relics: none could have been more reverently performed. We spoke in whispers, tears were in our voices. The spell of the place was upon us. The very workmen who dug and sifted the earth, touched the fragments as delicately as if the spirit of the dead Queen had been watching them. It was Lord Mayor's Day, and an alderman had been elected out of a ward lying near the Tower: as we worked, deeply penetrated by the tragic sense, the trumpets and kettledrums of the procession, braying out some trivial march, were passing outside. I can hear now, after all these years, the music of a gaudy pageant breaking in upon what must remain a solemn memory to the dying day of every man present. But the contrast! Outside the Tower a newly-fledged Lord Mayor conducted, with all the circumstance of civic pomp, to his turtle and his dignities: inside the church a murdered Queen lying in the silence of an almost forgotten tomb. Sadly we carried the remains in a box under lock and key to the Governor's house, to be kept there until the chapel should be ready to receive them once more.'

It would be difficult to find a passage more eminently characteristic of Lord Redesdale's temperament and style.

What may be called the second division of Lord Redesdale's activity as a writer opens in 1896 with the publication of 'The Bamboo Garden.' This professes to be no more than a list of such hardy bamboos as can be successfully grown in a British climate. But it is much more: it contains, and largely

from sources in Japanese literature never before laid before Western readers, every species of information with regard to the history, use, and growth of this interesting class of plants. It was, in fact, a confession and a boast; it represented the results of a long and brilliant experiment on the estate of the author. It was an *apologia pro Bambusis meis* in the famous gardens at Batsford in Gloucestershire. The book is one which may easily be overlooked, as merely technical or scientific. In reality, there is no work in which the brilliant and delicate genius of the writer is displayed with more fantastic grace.

Never since the days of Erasmus Darwin did poetry and horticulture take hands so lovingly as in 'The Bamboo Garden.' The book is a catalogue of species, botanical and precise; it is also a lyric in praise of the supreme loveliness of the emperor among grasses. There meets us in its pages the oddest mingling of formidable nomenclature and tender poetical panegyric. The author writes, 'surrounded by bamboos,' in a grove or forest of these exquisite plants. He recounts their adventures with passion, and he lauds the beauty of *phyllostachys nigropunctata* as other rhapsodists celebrate wine or the beauty of women. His eloquence carries us away. When, in faltering numbers, he tells of the tragic winter of 1895, and how the tallest shoots of *phyllostachys mitis* perished, we almost shrink from the too-painful recital; nor should easily recover our spirits if we were not assured that, on the other hand, *viridiglaucescens* 'simply laughed at the thermometer.' What a vision rises to the eye! Lord Redesdale hidden in the maze of bamboos, like a faun among the reeds, watching with an anxious countenance to see whether *viridiglaucescens* would quail at the terrible onset, and bow his culm before the descending thermometer. A pause, while *mitis*, grievously wounded, falls at his brother's side, stretched upon the field of honour. Another breathless moment of anxiety, and then *viridiglaucescens*, remembering what England expects of a hybrid (or high-bred) bamboo, sets his teeth and 'simply laughs at the thermometer.'

We ask pardon for this outbreak of levity, which indeed ill-befits the solemnity of the subject. For Lord Redesdale takes his bamboos with magnificent seriousness, and it is a curious fact that this technical treatise, where all seems to

be sacrificed to exact scientific statement, is precisely that of all his works in which the style of the author blossoms most freely, with easiest and boldest flow of fancy. We may quote one of the numerous passages in which the enthusiastic memory of the Oriental traveller impinges upon the exact business of the botanist :

‘Near the Malay villages, where the houses are carried upon poles above the red, teeming swamp, like old lacustrine dwellings, there is sure to be a Bamboo grove. Towards evening, when the fresh sea-borne breeze drives the burning stillness of the day before it, bringing to the poor washed-out natives a faint renewal of energy, weird and ghostly strains come floating upon the air. It is no mortal music, for *Æolus* himself is the musician, rivalling the great god *Pan* of old. In one of the hollow stems of the grove holes have been pierced, some greater and some less, one in each joint ; through these the Wind-God breathes fitful wailing sounds, now deep like the pedal notes of an organ, now soft as a fairy’s flute. This is *Buiu Perindu*, the plaintive Bamboo, the analogue of the *Æolian* harp.’

In recent years, Lord Redesdale has adopted the practice, in a large number of instances, of addressing his writings to a limited audience, instead of to the general public. Some of his most charming works have issued from local presses, in limited numbers, and in a form which appeals directly to the luxury of the book-lover. There can be no doubt that this practice has, for the time being, reduced the circle of his admirers, although it may have intensified it. As is well known, this appeal to bibliophils has received the sanction of several eminent writers, particularly poets. The collector of complete sets of Tennyson, of Swinburne, and even of Ruskin and of William Morris, to say nothing of living writers, is obliged to look out for the appearance in the auction-room of what are called ‘privately-printed editions.’ These having been from the first strictly limited in numbers, and being as a rule greatly prized by connoisseurs, the securing of such treasures is often extremely difficult. Probably, in face of the enormous manufacture of ephemeral literature, which disappears almost as suddenly as it appears, writers who are unconstrained by a desire for money, and prefer to address a few in permanence rather than a crowd for a moment, will increasingly adopt this mode of procedure. It has led to the issues of the Daniel Press at Worcester College, Oxford, of

the Grolier Club, and of many other such institutions. The private publications of Lord Redesdale are of this order, although they are not connected with any club or society. In his most recent miscellany, the volume which stands last on our list, he has reprinted, and dedicated to a wider public, a number of these 'private' issues.

In his later writings, Lord Redesdale has been captured again and again by the glamour of Japan. His close acquaintance with the language and the literature of the Island Empire, together with the almost unrivalled breadth of his experience, has enabled him to enter more fully than any other Western writer, more even perhaps than M. Petrucci himself, into the delicate mystery of the Far East. No one has painted in truer colours the extraordinary contrast, revealed in a single lifetime, between feudal and constitutional Japan. He delights in those instances of preposterous fidelity to an idea of which he has given so many picturesque examples. It is said that in the ancient temple of Tadjima there is an oracle which declares that 'when the sky is clear and the wind sighs 'among the cypresses, it is the heart of a god that speaketh.' No one has listened for this voice more patiently, or has felt the fitful magic of its approach more tenderly than the author of the works before us. It is perhaps, among all his claims to our consideration, that which demands our praise most completely. He understands what it is which alternately perplexes and rebuffs the ordinary Western mind in the furious and fantastic, but intensely human, imagination of the Japanese Buddhist. He comprehends the tenacity of will which gave magnificence and serenity to the most ferocious fancy of the classical writers of Japan. He admires, he excuses, and with a beautiful penetration he interprets.

It may often be given to a writer to revisit, towards the evening of his life, the scenes which most vividly awakened his early sensibilities, but it must be rare indeed for the vision to repeat itself with so much splendour as Japan revealed to Lord Redesdale when he accompanied the Mission appointed by King Edward VII. to carry the Order of the Garter to the late Emperor in 1906. The book which he wrote on his return was a sort of semi-official record of this courtly adventure, and it suffers a little from the disadvantages of its class. What would Swinburne have said if his cousin had desired his company

on this glittering occasion? We have the answer, pat, in 'Mater Triumphalis':

'I keep no time of song with gold-perched singers,
And chirp of linnets on the wrists of kings.'

Lord Redesdale is no linnet, but it is inevitable that we read much, in the earlier pages of 'The Garter Mission to 'Japan,' about luncheons and addresses, 'autograph letters,' 'a capital string band,' and the etiquette of ceremonials. Every soldier on such an occasion is bound to be a model of chivalry, every lady remarkable for her modesty and beauty, every prince condescending, cordial, and gracious. We are not even saved the programmes of the state-concerts. 'Quelle vanité et perte de temps aux visites, salutations, accueils!' the reader is inclined to call out, as Charron did under Henri III. We like Lord Redesdale best when he has put the Imperial Order of the Rising Sun back into its lacquer box, tied together with tasselled cords of crimson silk, and starts to revisit his old haunts in the country:

'Skirting the famous old Tokaido, the great road which leads from Kyoto to Tokyo; past the shrine of Benten; past Kanagawa; past the old cryptomerias which shaded the Daimyo's processions and wayside tea-houses; over the bridge at Kawasaki where we and our horses used to be ferried across the river; through the wicked suburb of Shinagawa, where, as in the wynds of the Old Town of Edinburgh, the broils of the clans and the vendettas of individuals used to take place, now grown intensely staid and respectable; past the old temple of Sengakuji, under which the Legation buildings used to be; past the little old temple of Monriyo-in, where I lived thirty-nine years ago, when first the Legation went back to Yedo! What memories, some sad, some gay, crowd upon my mind!'

This is the mood into which the author of 'The Garter Mission'—as soon as he forgets his Garter Mission—slips back, and immediately we find his style as pure and as charming as ever. The central sentiment of the book is a consideration of the amazing, the disconcerting, change in everything which has taken place in Japan since the author saw it last, less than forty years ago. It is as though the same man should be able to witness, with his living eyes, the Kenilworth Progress of Queen Elizabeth and the Second Jubilee of Queen Victoria. The author was a breathless spectator of the closing acts of the

feudal system ; he watched the fall of that cyclopean fortress which hemmed the Shogun in from mortal sight ; he heard the very roar of the great battle of Fushimi ; and he saw the defeated Shogun, helmeted and visored, ride back to Osaka surrounded by his dejected guards, all dressed, as was the Chief himself, in the ancient armour of Japan, like so many elaborate crustaceans. Among the scenes recalled by Lord Redesdale's mission in 1906 is a brilliant picture, which we lack space to quote, of a scene which Sir Harry Parkes, Sir Ernest Satow, and the author of this volume witnessed at Kyoto in 1868, when fanatics surrounded their horses in the street, and massacred many of their attendants. It is like reading of something that happened in Paris or Verona in the fifteenth century, and yet the man who took part in it is happily with us still.

Everything Japanese, in the true sense, seems to be disappearing or to have disappeared. The very language has undergone some miraculous sea-change. Japan is revealed to us as a world of railways and telephones, European dress and furniture from Tottenham Court Road, a world of newspapers, cinematographs, and the art of cast iron. Looking round the scene that once was fairyland, Lord Redesdale sees but one national institution untouched. 'I do not suppose,' he admits, 'that the geisha, with her samisen, her koto, her 'flute, and her drum, will ever quite disappear. I hope not.' We hope not, too ; and we are inclined to believe that the violent and preposterous Europeanising of Japan may already have reached its limit. A reaction is bound to come, and we like to believe that it has come already. In the centre of Tokyo, in one of the most beautiful sites of the world, stands an heroic statue of Count Goto. This prince, during his lifetime, wore the sumptuous and flowing raiment of a Samurai nobleman, but modern Japanese taste has prevailed, and the sculptor has displayed him in a frock-coat. This must, surely, mark the darkest hour before the dawn !

In 'A Tale of Old and New Japan' (1906) Lord Redesdale still further elaborates his favourite theme. He recounts the circumstances which led to the promulgation of the famous Edict of 1638, when the Shogun Iyémitsu closed Japan to all foreign intercourse, making it an offence punishable by death for a citizen to travel or to build a sea-going vessel. He attributes

it wholly to the excesses of an ignorant Jesuit fanaticism, and he recounts the marvellous tale of how the disciples of St. Francis Xavier, taking advantage of the gentleness of the islanders, grew in insolence until they formed at Kyoto a body of priests who took the sword and the stake as their arguments for conversion, and 'by their turbulent lawlessness brought 'upon the Christian community the just wrath of a ruler 'with whom there was no trifling.' He shows, beyond all possibility of doubt, that it was the bloodthirsty arrogance of the Franciscans which first endangered and then wrecked the prosperity of Christianity in Japan, and finally closed the country to all foreign influences for two centuries and a half. It is an extraordinary record of the ruinous action of sacerdotalism, and it explains the accident which preserved the romantic medieval state of Japan, unimpaired by European influences, until far down into the nineteenth century. Lord Redesdale recounts it without passion, courageously and candidly.

In the very curious study, called 'Three Hundred Years 'Ago' (1907), the author makes a contribution of another order to this literature of contrasts. This is a biography of Will Adams, the Elizabethan navigator, the first Englishman who ever set foot in Japan, and who lived and died there, as Lord Redesdale says, 'in circumstances bewilderingly 'romantic.' It is from the close of this delightful little volume that we select our latest example of the author's style, in a passage that exhibits with remarkable grace that perpetual balancing of the old with the new which is habitual to his mind. Will Adams, having survived all his dangers, and become a feudal chief of the Japanese Empire, died in the very odour of courtly favour, at Hirado, on the 6th of May 1620, and his tomb still stands in the woods which overlook the harbour of Yokosuka :

'It is a romantic spot, rich in all the beauty for which the fairy-land of Japan is famous, and it is singularly appropriate as the last resting-place of the man who first built a ship on foreign lines in that country. For, from the fief in which Will Adams was daimyo you may look upon the arsenal in which last year I saw the building of the mighty *Satsuma*, a great ironclad of between nineteen and twenty thousand tons. I could not help thinking of the spirit of the old pilot watching over the place ; the throbbing of the machinery, the hissing of steam, the clank of iron beating

upon iron, the thousands of workmen swarming over the hulls of the great ships—is there not some fitness in these surroundings? Adams sleeps; but the spirit of stress and strain in which he gave the lead is awake, and the grand old seaman, if he can look down and see all these wonders, may well view with pride the great work-place which has grown out of his humble ship-yard. And we, the Englishmen of to-day, we, too, may be proud, when we see how, after three centuries, the great chiefs and leaders of thought in Japan are uniting to do honour to our countryman, the first who set foot on their shore, and left behind him so fair a fame, so undying a memory.'

This sensitive apprehension of the contrast between old things and new, this philosophical acceptance of modern conditions without any disloyalty to the beauty and dignity of ancient forms, expressed with an unfailing grace and amenity of language, and with remarkably little indebtedness to contemporary tricks of manner—this is what seems to distinguish Lord Redesdale as being, to use an old-fashioned phrase, one of the most elegant of living writers.

EDMUND GOSSE.

GREEK GENIUS AND GREEK DEMOCRACY

1. *The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us.* By R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1912.
2. *The Rise of the Greek Epic.* By Professor GILBERT MURRAY. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1912.
3. *The Plays of Euripides.* Translated into English Rhyming Verse by Professor GILBERT MURRAY. George Allen and Sons.
4. *The Greek Commonwealth.* By A. E. ZIMMERN. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1912.

IN his introduction to the 'Histoire du Peuple d'Israël' Renan said that, to a mind preoccupied with origins, there were only three histories of the first importance : Greek history, the history of Israel, and the history of Rome. He added :

'La Grèce dans cette œuvre a, selon moi, un rôle hors de ligne ; car elle a fondé dans toute l'étendue du terme l'humanisme rationnel et progressif. Notre science, notre art, notre littérature, notre philosophie, notre morale, notre politique, notre stratégie, notre diplomatie, notre droit maritime et international sont grecs d'origine. Le cadre de la culture humaine créé par la Grèce est susceptible d'être indéfiniment élargi, mais il est complet dans ces parties. Le progrès consistera éternellement à développer ce que la Grèce a conçu, à remplir les desseins qu'elle a, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, excellemment échantillonnés.'

In an essay upon 'The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us,' a book at once clear and persuasive, urbane in manner and singularly felicitous in style, Mr. R. W. Livingstone has put forward a similar claim, but by the way and as being generally recognised, since he is more concerned with the qualities or distinctive notes of the Greek genius. Beauty, freedom, directness, sanity, humanism, and many-sidedness : he isolates these qualities, treating them as peculiarly characteristic of the people, and he either disregards some finer qualities and some characteristic defects, or marks them as exceptional. It is not a sound method. It creates an abstract ideal by assembling qualities drawn from different sources into a single whole ; and the material itself is derived through literature in which ideals are shown free from any immediate contact with reality ; so that the method implies a further refinement of something already ideal. Moreover, Mr. Livingstone's object,

in his own words, was to write not a history of the Greeks, not even a *history* of the Greek genius, but an account of *its significance to us*.

Obviously such a method does not minimise the chances of error. The weakness of every criticism is to be sought for, as a general rule, in the personality of the critic, which is deposited as a vague and delicate film upon every fact handled and applied by him. This personal quality, moreover, has itself been moulded by the imperceptible action of our own age, it has been modified and influenced by the floating ideas and opinions which pass current among us, and which we accept, too often, without any close critical examination. Neither Professor Murray, nor Mr. Livingstone, nor Mr. Zimmern has made any serious attempt to restrain or correct this personal quality; though the nature of Mr. Zimmern's study, dealing with more tangible evidences, has prevented his work from being saturated and pervaded by it to the same extent. His account of the social structure of the Athenian Commonwealth in the fifth century, in its broad features, makes the same impression upon our minds as the accounts of Aristotle, of the Pseudo-Xenophon, and of Thucydides: the difference is in the motives which he alleges to explain the facts, and the conclusions at which he arrives from his consideration of them. With Professor Murray and Mr. Livingstone the material is more pliant. The tendency in all alike is to consider genius not as an isolated and individual quality, but simply as a national characteristic, and to contrast the reality of modern life in its actual incoherence and complexity with the vision of that Greek world, the beauty of which, freed from all contact with reality, purified of its baser and superfluous material, and moving without restriction in an atmosphere that is purely ideal, seems to strike immediately upon our senses with the freshness of a wind. We see it complete and perfect because freed from the action of the forces which deposited it, and we are liable to forget that we are dealing, not with an actual experience, but only with the traces of that experience.

To Mr. Livingstone, many of the finer qualities in the Greek genius resulted from the conditions of Greek life: more especially from those of political and religious freedom. He contrasts the attitude of the Athenian public towards Aristophanes

with reference to his criticism of the Peloponnesian war, with the treatment accorded to Mr. Lloyd George by the British public for criticising the war in South Africa. Some of us, though opinions may differ on an unimportant point, will doubt whether the cases of a comedian and of a politician are parallel, so we shall confine our attention to the treatment which Aristophanes received. Mr. Livingstone implies that he did not suffer on account of his opinions. After the production of 'The Babylonians' Cleon accused Aristophanes before the *Boulé* of ridiculing the Athenian State in the presence of the Allies, who had assembled in Athens for the *Panathenaea*. In 'The Acharnians' * Aristophanes refers to his prosecution, and he informs the audience that in order to avoid any repetition of the charge he produces his new play at the *Lenaea* when the Allies are not present, and he is at pains to point out that he is not attacking the State, but only some individual politicians. Moreover, in this play Cleon is not among the characters represented, and the chopping-block scene is evidently intended to parody his own danger, and to plead the licence of comedy. After 'The Knights,' however, Cleon again prosecuted Aristophanes, accusing him of claiming, without right, the privileges of citizenship. As citizenship implied the right of living at the expense of the State, the citizens were naturally jealous of any encroachment upon their privileges, while the title was difficult to prove. Aristophanes was forced to appease Cleon for the moment, and the people were evidently amused at his humiliation.† The whole evidence supports the statement of the Pseudo-Xenophon, that the people resented any satire upon democracy, though they were amused by attacks upon their own leaders, whose power depended upon their votes, and of whose charlatanry they were the victims.‡ It would have been almost impossible for Mr. Livingstone to have cited a case more damaging to his argument than that of Aristophanes. The facts prove that in Athens it was possible for a politician to accuse a man, upon no other ground than that of political expediency, before a legislative and not a judicial body, of an action which was not

* Acharn. 227 et seq., 502 et seq.

† Wasps, 1284.

‡ Pseudo-Xen. ii. 18.

technically illegal, and could not, therefore, be brought before the ordinary tribunals. Imagine the case of the British politician if these conditions had prevailed in our own country : that is to say, if the executive, legislative, and judicial powers had been entirely in the hands of the populace.

Mr. Livingstone passes from this characteristic example of Greek liberty to a short discussion of the Funeral Speech in the second book of Thucydides :

‘ The complete freedom of the Athenian citizen strikes us at once in reading the speech, the absence of any attempt to make him good by law, the absence of any safeguards against want of patriotism, and indeed of any fear of it. We are taken into an atmosphere very different from modern political thought. There is no talk of class jealousy and class selfishness, to be remedied by a system of checks and balances and counterbalances, no talk of compulsory military service necessary to inculcate patriotism and to discipline the irregular energies of the mob.’

The occasion, we may remark, rendered these subjects inappropriate. Mr. Livingstone does not suspect any irony in the art of Thucydides, he does not suspect any irony in the insertion of the speech at that particular point, he does not consider the commentary upon this eloquent idealism furnished by the succeeding chapters of the history. It is the speech of a great politician to those upon whose suffrages his power depends, and whom he must conciliate for his own purposes. Though it may be, substantially, a true report of the words by which Pericles attempted to inspire new confidence in his followers, it need not, necessarily, be a true account of the conditions which obtained in Athens at the time. Mr. Livingstone tells us that Thucydides was ‘ a friend and admirer of ‘ Pericles, who knew from within the politics on which he ‘ wrote ’ ; but his friendship and his admiration did not extinguish, if they tempered, the keenness of his irony, nor did they modify his opinion of the worthlessness of Athenian democracy. He writes, that, under Pericles, ‘ Athens, though ‘ still in name a democracy, was in fact ruled by her greatest ‘ citizen,’ and he implicitly condemns the democratic principle in a sentence immediately following.*

Renan — whose description of Athens as a place where

* Thuc. ii. 65, 10.

perfection had existed is quoted by Mr. Livingstone—has compared modern and ancient liberty in the following passage, where he is writing with a more serious purpose :

‘Qu’on le regrette ou qu’on s’en réjouisse, la liberté moderne n’est nullement la liberté antique ni celle des républiques du moyen âge. Elle est bien plus réelle, mais beaucoup moins brillante. Thucydide et Machiavel n’y comprendraient rien, et cependant un sujet de la reine Victoria est mille fois plus libre que ne l’a été aucun citoyen de Sparte, d’Athènes, de Venise ou de Florence. Plus de ces fiévreuses agitations républicaines, pleines de noblesse et de danger ; plus de ces villes composées d’un peuple fin, vivant, et aristocratique ; au lieu de cela, de grandes masses pesantes, chez lequel l’intelligence est le fait d’un petit nombre, mais qui contribuent puissamment à la civilisation en mettant au service de l’État, par la conscription et l’impôt, un merveilleux trésor d’abnégation, de docilité, de bon esprit. Cette manière d’exister, qui est assurément celle qui use le moins une nation, et conserve le mieux ses forces, l’Angleterre en a donné le modèle. L’Angleterre est arrivée à l’état le plus libéral que le monde ait connu jusqu’ici en développant ses institutions du moyen âge, et nullement par la révolution.’*

Liberty is not the result of political theory, but of historical processes ; a condition itself, it is continually being affected by the development and readjustment of other conditions ; it is a matter of those ‘checks, and balances, and counter-balances’ which Mr. Livingstone would seem to despise ; and, because, in such a democracy as that of Athens, the line of cleavage between parties coincides with that between classes, these reciprocal checks are destroyed and the balance lost. Liberty without the restraint of justice is an unmitigated evil. The treatise on the Athenian Republic by the Pseudo-Xenophon enables us to appreciate more exactly the real value to the Athenian people of those ideals which the oratory of Pericles, or the irony of Thucydides, expressed so magnificently. Hatred between classes was nowhere more bitter than at Athens, and it extinguished the last decency of patriotism. The commands and sanctions of morality, the scruples of honour, and the prohibitions of conscience are less likely to restrain men from public injustice and tyranny, when the responsibility is diffused among the people, and for more

* Renan, ‘La Réforme Intellectuelle. et Morale,’ p. 238.

reasons than one it is impossible to frame an indictment against a whole nation.

Mr. Livingstone claims for the Greek citizen an equal measure of religious liberty, attributing it to the anthropomorphic nature of their religion and the absence of a Sacred Book. 'We often call Homer the Greek Bible,' he writes, 'but the phrase is misleading, for Homer had not the peremptory authority of a Law once ordained and forever binding, but the subtle influence of a great book which is in everybody's hands.' We agree, both as to the nature of the religion and as to the influence of Homer; but the question does not rest there, and we cannot assent to Mr. Livingstone's claim in this matter any more than in the matter of political liberty. Religion has two distinct elements: ritual and doctrine. In some religions ritual remains always the chief element. Doctrine is of a later growth: it is the fruit of reflection upon ritual, a series of after-thoughts, an attempt to explain and justify rites which have already lost something of their original power and significance. The Greek religion was mainly composed of ritual, but a religion of this type is not necessarily more tolerant or more elastic in its nature than one in which doctrine is the predominant feature.

The main fact to observe is that, in this purely democratic State, an accusation of ἀσεβεία could be used as a weapon against a political opponent. If we take the case of Aristotle, we find the accusation brought by Eurymedon, high-priest of the Eleusinian Demeter. A similar accusation was brought against Alcibiades. We do not refer to the charge of mutilating the *Hermae* but that of travestying the Mysteries; and here again one of the chief accusers was the priest of Eleusinian Demeter, Theodorus, who formally laid him under a curse. When Alcibiades returned to Athens, after his victories in the Hellespont, as the saviour of his country, Theodorus declined to release him from this curse; and the sacerdotal party imputed it to the general as a crime that he had returned with his prizes on the day of the *Plynteria*. Upon that day no business was transacted, the temple of Athene Polias was closed, and the *Praxiergides* carried away the sacred image of the goddess that it might be bathed in the sea, and robed in new vestments. His opponents had no difficulty in persuading the credulous mob that the return of Alcibiades at this moment,

when the goddess was absent from her city, was of bad augury, and their rejoicings, impious.* The superstition of the Greek, *δεισιδαιμονία*, was one of his most striking characteristics; and if we couple this with the frequency of charges of *ἀσέβεια* tried by the people themselves, we shall not exaggerate the licence permitted to religious, moral, and political speculation by the democracy of Athens. Popular superstition is no more tolerant than organised theology.

Renan was not under the illusion that perfection had existed at Athens; and his thought is so extremely fluid that it is dangerous to quote any of his sentences, however definite they may seem to be, apart from their context. He returns upon them. He has his doubts even of that Athenian perfection hailed in a moment of enthusiasm. 'Si une société, si une philosophie, si une religion eût possédé la vérité absolue, cette société, cette philosophie, cette religion aurait vaincu les autres et vivrait seule à l'heure qu'il est.' The true significance of the Greek genius may be the ideal which it presents, but the development of a people does not necessarily tend toward the goal which its statesmen and philosophers set before it. Humanity, considered as a whole, is an unconscious agent, without either memory or prevision. The individual has both, in varying degrees; but the individual intellect never exercises a continuous influence upon the mass of the population, its action is momentary, and the succession may be considered as fortuitous, since we are unable to grasp the influences which determine it. That which in tribes and nations takes the place of memory and consequently, also, of prevision, is custom, and it is custom alone which gives continuity to the national life. It is the pooled experience of many generations; and it expresses itself in our laws and our religion.

Originally the two were one: religion was social and not individual. Man had not separated himself from Nature; he had not learnt to distinguish clearly between his consciousness and the objects of his consciousness, or between the will and its objects. The individual was not separated from the community. Then, corresponding to the evolution of the divinity, there seems to take place a similar evolution in the social

* Curtius, 'Histoire Grecque' (Boucher Leclercq), vol. iii., p. 481.

structure. The ritual ceases to be performed by the tribe as a whole, but is handed over to a group of individuals, or to an individual with an attendant *thiasos*. The kingly functions tend to separate themselves from the priestly, the king and priest become even actively hostile to each other, as Agamemnon to Calchas in the 'Iliad,' or Cadmus and Pentheus to Teiresias in the Attic tragedians. The opposition is at first mainly political; but when the separation becomes complete, when rationalising forces have destroyed the barrier to individual liberty erected by religious custom, they have formed a solid body of political custom which acts as a barrier itself, and the rationalising forces, the individual egoisms which have dissolved the body of religious dogma, now attack the body of social dogma in its turn. It resembles a chemical process in which solution and precipitation succeed each other with monotonous regularity. The State, from a single cell, has become an organic body; the political functions are exercised by one organ and the religious by another. The result is to exclude the priest from the sphere of reality and actuality, the material concerns of life, and to leave him supreme in the sphere of idealism.

Practically, of course, there is an overlapping of the lay and ecclesiastical spheres, but they have no longer a common centre. Religion now represents as a whole all the stages of its development, including in a single body the mass of the people who remain rooted in their old beliefs and superstitions, and to whom religion means largely a magical action upon the will of their divinity, and, at the opposite pole, those to whom it is a system of metaphysics, or a symbol of some purely mystical experience: at one end gross, material, and sensual; at the other refined away into a vague ideal. It has ceased to act directly upon society, it acts upon the individual, it opposes the ideal to the real world. It assumes eternity for each individual soul, and automatically its ideals and values become absolute. It supplies the ideal standards by which society is to be judged; and hence that theological zeal which animates social reformers in all ages, the blind partisanship, the reckless assertion, the interminable casuistry, the apparent conviction, itself almost a passion, by which they attempt to conceal the fact that they are not quite sure.

This summary is relevant not only to the question raised

by Mr. Livingstone about the relation of genius to society, but also to the discussion of Professor Gilbert Murray's 'Rise of the Greek Epic,' where the same question is presented in a slightly different form. The first paragraph of Professor Murray's book is an illustration of how theological ideals, based upon the assumption of an eternal life freed from the restraint of material conditions, may be misapplied to the natural processes of society :

'These lectures form the first part of an attempt to study the growth of Greek poetry from a particular point of view, namely, as a force and the embodiment of a force making for the progress of the human race. By progress I understand some gradual ennobling and enriching of the content of life ; or, if you will excuse more theological language, some movement towards the attainment of "that chief end of man" which is, according to the magnificent definition of the document known in Scotland as the "Shorter Catechism," "To glorify God and enjoy Him for ever."' "

We no longer, however, relegate the attainment of 'the chief end of man' to a hypothetical future, and we are inclined to lay more stress upon the enjoyment than upon the glorification. Compare Professor Murray's definition of progress, if it can be called a definition, with the words of Renan quoted at the beginning of this article. We cannot accept Renan's declaration that our art, our literature, our philosophy, and the rest are simply of Greek origin ; for though each has been profoundly influenced and stimulated by Greek thought, it is a native and not an alien spirit which informs them. Our poetry owes more to Provence, and our prose to the Latins. But when Renan says : 'Le progrès consistera éternellement à développer ce que la Grèce a conçu,' his judgment is clear and sound, and it is limited to 'l'humanisme rationnel et progressif.' Professor Murray's statement is vague and meaningless. It is legitimate to speak of progress as implying a greater power of utilising material resources, even though the increase in material resources brings about automatically an increase in the number of those enjoying them, but only if we admit that the proportion remains the same between the two. Progress is not the substitution of an idea for a natural law ; and thus the conditions of life remain for us what they were for the Greeks. When we say with Renan that 'le cadre de la culture humaine créé par la Grèce est susceptible d'être

' indéfiniment élargi ; mais il est complet dans ces parties,' we mean no more than that the Greeks are, for us, of ancient peoples the first to record the results of their experience, the first to become fully conscious of their relation to nature, and to observe, and to reflect upon, the workings of natural law. We do not mean that our science can be traced back in an unbroken line to a miraculous beginning among a singularly gifted people inhabiting the countries about the Aegæan Sea. The continuity does not exist. We have before us the record of the growth and decay of a people, the record of a full experience, not ended by any cataclysm but closing to its natural term. We are thus able to correct, in part, our own experience ; certain features of Greek life become more intelligible to us at certain times ; certain phases of their political development we find, as it were, reflected in our own. So far we may admit that history is cyclic. But, at the same time, every fact is relative to the conditions which produce it, it has its position in a sequence or assemblage of other facts, and we cannot say that the particular sequence or assemblage is ever repeated. Progress, in short, is the substitution of ourselves for our ancestors.

We have said above that religion as a whole represents every stage of development through which it has passed, and retains to some extent all the functions which it has at any time claimed to exercise. In its dissolution we may say, roughly, that it breaks into three bodies : the magical and superstitious element, *δεισιδαιμονία* ; the conforming and social element, *εὐσέβεια* ; and thirdly the philosophic element. The first tends to revert to the primitive forms of belief, the second to become more and more rational and formal, and the third either mystic or agnostic, the difference between the mystic and the agnostic being in the majority of cases purely temperamental. Of these bodies the first and third are the most vigorous, since in them the individual has greater freedom : in the one case of will, and in the other of thought. In both cases we have a disregard of external sanctions and commands.

These probably were the conditions which existed under the Achæan domination, and we may assume, also, that under their rule the process of disintegration was hastened rather than delayed ; but the Achæans did not rule long. Their influence modified rather than changed the Mycenean culture,

and probably was most apparent in dress and armour, as would be natural in a military caste. The religion of Greece was still the Mycenaean religion, decomposed and disintegrated. Tiryns and Mycenae had been destroyed; but with the destruction of golden Mycenae and its kindred cities the religion may be said to have reverted to type. The Olympians survive in legend, and at Athens they are throned and alien. The gods of the valley are the potent influences. As Professor Murray points out, the Pisistratean temple of Zeus remains unfinished through the whole period of Greek history and 'all the treasures of Athenian building went to Athena and Poseidon, the native Earth-maiden and the native sea.' Certainly Athena has many characteristics of the *Kore*; but she has also some affinities with Dictynna, and as we have seen, on the *Plynteria* she bathed in the sea; perhaps for the same purpose as Hera in Canathus.

This is the worship which survived, but let us clearly understand that it is less a primitive cult than the reversion to type of a more highly developed religion. Demeter, Hera, Athena, Artemis, they have all their Chthonian aspects, their pomegranates, their sacred and usually tragic marriages, their dubious twilight periods: the lady of the willows, the mother of the corn, of the olive, the mother of the wild things: they are one, many manifestations of a single idea, and their jealousy is but that of rival shrines and villages; they are the divinities of the valleys, the unquenchable energies of earth, and the ritual of their worship is the ritual of man's life and his labour among the cornfields, and olive gardens, and vineyards; while for those whose harvest is from the sea, there is the white-horned Dictynna, lady of the nets. It is foolish to confuse them as we have done, perhaps: and yet we wish to suggest, diffidently enough, that they are not primitive but that they have slipped back, with their world, into barbarism; and though they have the loveliness of wild things, the beauty of swift passions and human sympathies, the older gods were also beautiful, whose tranquil eyes showed them as beings remote from the tragedy of our love-wrought labouring earth, above and beyond the vicissitudes of mortal seasons. The Homeric gods are aristocratic, the gods of the Attic Tragedians are popular, and when Pisistratus sought to restore the Olympians he was archaising. Philosophy, unable to inform the

chaotic mass, turned aside, and evolved, without the illustrative aid of ritual, its own monotheistic ideal.* The populace sought for consolation in Demeter, and in the Dionysian and Orphic mysteries, which cults were also connected with the name of Pisistratus. But for us, the Homeric world remains a world apart, undisturbed by such emotional and crude ecstasies.

There was a finer general culture and a larger measure of material prosperity under Pisistratus at Athens, or under Polycrates at Samos, than at any later time, simply because the national policy under their control was coherent and sane. The unmitigated democracy at Athens under Pericles and his successors never had any definite and continuous policy; and, indeed, Pericles makes it one of the grounds for praise of the Athenian democracy, that it was ready at any moment to improvise remedies for impending evils, and in the meantime to pursue its own selfish and undisciplined desires. It would be impossible to exhaust the irony of the phrases which Thucydides put into the mouth of Pericles, and which have become commonplaces of every politician seeking to gratify the vanity of his audience. It is of course inevitable, at the present time, when our own national life is tending to concentrate more and more in large cities, that we should be interested in the democracy of the Greek city-states; but when we are invited to follow the same ideals, to pursue the same paths, and adopt the same measures, we are entitled at least to look a little more closely at the reality of Greek life, and to ask how far it was actually informed by these ideals, and what effects followed their adoption. Our own characteristic liberties are not the achievement of democratic action concentrated in a city-state, they have arisen out of a wider national life, and have been moulded by the reciprocal action of duty and privilege.†

It is of importance to note, in the first place, that Athens, where democracy attained its fullest expression, was a Pelasgian city. Thucydides, writing of the period of the migrations, tells us that it retained its original inhabitants because the soil was poor and thin, and thus its poverty protected it from the invaders, who overran the rich districts of Thessaly, Boeotia,

* Caird, 'Evolution of Religion in the Greek Philosophers.'

† Cf. Sargent, 'British Citizenship,' p. 50.

and, with the exception of Arcadia, which remained unconquered, the whole of the Peloponnesus. This accounts for the absence in Attica of any helot population, and it leaves us to conclude, also, that the declining culture of the Pelasgians, represented by the Bronze Age of Mycenae, did not in Attica receive any stimulus from the influx of more virile peoples, such as the Achaeans and the Dorians. The new ferment, in the case of Athens, was supplied by the immigration of the families driven out from the richer districts by the pressure of the Dorian invasion. Thucydides tells us that by this means Attica increased in population more than any other region :

‘For the leading men of Hellas when driven out of their own country by war or revolution, sought an asylum at Athens ; and from the very earliest times, being admitted to the rights of citizenship, so greatly increased the number of inhabitants that Attica became incapable of containing them, and was at last obliged to send out colonists to Ionia.’

By this means Athens, which had played an entirely insignificant part in the Trojan war, became of the first importance among Greek cities. Thus from the earliest historical times Athens presents to us those features of decadence and disintegration in the social and religious spheres which we have already discussed. The influx of noble and wealthy families, such as the Pisistratidae and the Alcmaeonidae, bringing with them a more luxurious mode of life, tended to diminish the prestige of the native families in the eyes of the populace ; and in the place of a military aristocracy imposing itself upon a subjugated people, we have an aristocracy of wealth practising a more insidious form of usurpation. The increase of luxury coincided with the failure of natural resources, and the poverty of the soil, which defended the city against the Dorians, as later against their descendants the Spartans, forced upon it a healthy policy of colonisation, and engaged it in commercial enterprise. 3

The main causes, then, of the development of the Athenian democracy were an overcrowded population and a scarcity of food, and to quote Sir Frederick Kenyon, the constitutional history of Athens is the record of ‘an attempt to provide a ‘political solution for an economical problem.’ * Draco’s

* Kenyon, ‘Aristotle on the Athenian Constitution,’ p. 24 ; cf. Grundy, ‘Thucydides,’ p. 66 et seq.

measures having failed to relieve the poorer classes from the pressure of economic conditions, Solon was empowered to deal with the situation, and there seems to have been a general feeling that he would order a redistribution of land. He did not do this, but he cancelled all debts public and private, and forbade the securing of debts on the person of the debtor ; he encouraged manufactures, since he recognised that the difficulties of an adequate food-supply could only be met by exporting goods in exchange ; he forbade the exportation of corn, and he reformed the standards of weights, measures, and currency. His constitutional measures were in many respects an extension of the principles which guided Draco. They included a substitution of a property qualification for the qualification of birth.

The good effect of these measures was not immediately apparent, and those who had been disappointed in their hopes of an agrarian revolution, placed at the head of the State Pisistratus, who instituted a system of loans to the poorer agricultural classes, and by encouraging their prosperity induced them to restrict their energies to their own business, and to leave in his more competent hands the welfare of the State. His confiscations of land belonged to his last period, when, after the battle of Pallene, he divided among a new class of small proprietors the estates of his political opponents who had taken refuge abroad. Under his rule, for a brief moment Athens, relieved from the strife of political faction, enjoyed prosperity and contentment. Later generations were to look upon the period of his tyranny as a golden age ; and if, as Dr. Grundy suggests, some of the credit for this prosperity should be attributed to Solon, the greater part is directly attributable to the agricultural policy and the wise administration of the tyrant Pisistratus.

With the fall of the Pisistratidae, and the re-establishment of the democracy by Cleisthenes, Athens entered upon a new period of constitutional experiment. Cleisthenes abolished the four tribal divisions, and his creation of a new set of tribes cut right across the old clan-system, which, though it was a fruitful cause of dissensions, was, at the same time, a national and conservative force. The result was to destroy a whole body of religious and moral sanctions connected with the ancient tribes, to reduce membership of a brotherhood to a mere formality,

and to substitute for the worship of old local heroes and divinities the State worship of Zeus and Apollo. Dr. Zimmern tells us that the fifth-century Athenian had no great regard for these Olympian divinities: 'His deeper reverence was for 'Athena or, at lonely moments, for the gods or saints of his 'own hearth': thus, again, we have a moral and religious force decomposed into its original elements, and a further strengthening of the element of *δεισιδαιμονία* among the populace. Cleisthenes also revised the lists of citizens and enrolled many resident aliens, possibly as a measure of political tactics; at the same time, the democracy was becoming reluctant to admit resident aliens to a share in the privileges of citizenship; the reluctance increased in proportion with the privileges, and culminated in a law passed in 451 B.C. which limited citizen-rights henceforward to those born of Athenian parents on both sides. On the occasion of a gift of corn from Psammetichus, Pericles made this law retrospective, the result of which was to strike off the names of five thousand citizens, whose pure Athenian descent was questioned.* Cleisthenes also instituted the law of ostracism which was very leniently applied by democracy, probably because in choosing one of two rival leaders, it would increase enormously the power of the one chosen, which would not be to its interest. Finally, he instituted the direct election of the principal magistrates. The result of his measures was to shift the chief power from the Areopagus to the Ecclesia; and it needed only the advice of Aristides, reversing the policy of Pisistratus, that the population of Attica should concentrate in the city so as to control the power of the State, and the final overthrow of the Areopagus by Ephialtes and Themistocles, to ensure the triumph of unmitigated democracy.

The author of the treatise on the Athenian democracy attributed to Xenophon remarks, that once such a system of government is approved, it can be shown that the Athenians took the most effective means of preserving it; † and he proceeds to describe these means and to prove their efficiency, with an almost cynical devotion to the truth. Liberty is a question of economics, and the constitutional history of Athens consists

* Zimmern, 'Greek Commonwealth,' pp. 174 and 377. Cf. Grundy, 'Thucydides,' 139, 199. † Pseudo-Xen. 1.

of a series of revolutions all inspired by the same principle : that the supply of corn for the people could only be secured by popular control of the State. The citizens were in reality a privileged class.

Mr. Zimmern, when he claims that the metic population shared in some of the privileges of citizenship, is unable to state what the particular privileges were that they enjoyed, beyond giving a vague reference to the statement of Wilamowitz in 'Hermes' that they were demesmen, and a wrong reference to the Pseudo-Xenophon,* to whose words, moreover, he attaches a significance which they cannot possibly be made to bear. Mr. Zimmern can scarcely account as privileges 'that they served in the army and navy, . . . that they made the same free gifts or "liturgies" as the citizens and paid the same income-tax in time of war and in the same proportion.' They were suffered to dwell peacefully in Athens because their wealth and industry contributed to the resources of the State and to the leisure of the citizens ; but a metic woman married to an Athenian was in the position of a concubine. Besides the metic population there were the slaves whose competition with free labour was a further source of economic difficulty,† but allowed the sovereign people even more time for the exercise of their social and political functions. When Pericles had instituted bouleutic and heliastic pay, one man in every four, or, perhaps, even in every three, was receiving pay from the State. Pericles, as Aristotle rightly judged him, was simply a demagogue as Cleon and Cleophon were demagogues. The result of his institution of heliastic and bouleutic pay was that the politician supplied the courts with cases, and the judges supplied the politicians with votes. We have already noticed the prosecution of Aristophanes by Cleon.

Liberty is obviously complicated by the presence of a large metic and slave population who do not share in it. Moreover, the liberty at which the Athenian citizens aimed could only be obtained by sacrificing the *autarchia* of other Greek cities. Within our own Empire we can trace the rise of our self-governing dominions from communities in which the individual members had rights as British subjects but no citizenship, to their present position in which the various

* II. 12 should be I. 12.

† Grundy, 'Thucydides,' p. 99.

forms of local citizenship have been fully developed, and in which the tendency is toward a common form of Imperial citizenship.* When the Delian League was converted into the Athenian Empire the inhabitants of the tributary cities lost their *autarchia* without acquiring the privileges of Athenian citizenship. They were taxed to support the indigent population of Attica. It is conceivable that social legislation in Great Britain may in the future throw upon the British Dominions a greater share of the burden of Imperial defence than they are able to bear.

The Athenian Empire was enslaved by the liberties, or privileges, of the Athenian citizens. They were the only Greek people, Pausanias tells us, who had erected an altar to Mercy ; but when Cleon proposed that the tribute of the Allies should be doubled, and Melos, which had never paid the old tribute, declined the heavier burden, the Athenians slew all the adult male inhabitants and sold the women and children into slavery. Professor Murray is inclined to think that the Trojan women of Euripides reflects the poet's indignation at the spectacle of this slaughter, and both he and Mr. Zimmern write as though the terrible disaster of the Sicilian expedition were almost a direct example of divine vengeance. These natural vices of democracy are recognised by Mr. Zimmern, and yet his representation of the Athenian democracy is idealist. The reply to the idealist position may be given in an admirable passage from Dr. Grundy :

'To the Greek democrat democracy meant ultimately the right to live. . . . Men prefer to live easily rather than hardly ; a proletariat dependent upon the State loses ever more and more of that impetus to individual energy and enterprise which is the chief foundation of sound social conditions. Its demands on the State increase. It has postulated the right to live : it soon demands the right to live pleasantly. To that end the propertied classes are taxed still more heavily, unless the State has some external source of income wherewith to meet those demands.'

How far economic conditions may justify communism, even in a city-state, we do not presume to judge ; but, if we have economics as a cause and politics as an effect, at what point are we to insert any doctrine of liberty, of that ideal liberty which to the idealists represents one of the chief conditions of

* Sargent, ' British Citizenship.'

progress? And at what point in this purely mechanical scheme of things do we become aware of 'the pragmatic value' of progress itself?

Some of us idealise the past, and some of us the future; if we cherish any illusions about our own times an urgent and pressing reality confutes us in the event. At Athens, as elsewhere, genius was a solitary and an isolated force. In every age it is a power only present under individual forms, and the action it has upon the community is momentary and discontinuous. It founds no traditional school; the spirit of Socrates does not merge in that of Plato, or Plato's pass through Speusippus to Aristotle; they bring their individual gifts to individual men; and if the populace knows their names it uses them as pretexts only, glorifying its own passions with a vicarious majesty.

Athenian life presents to us all the features of a decadent civilisation: it is brilliant and artistic, immoral, sceptical upon the surface, and yet riddled with superstition, which reveals itself with a terrible vividness at moments of national crisis, as when Themistocles, on the eve of Salamis, propitiated Bacchus the Cannibal with human victims. The same shallow scepticism, issuing in a fatal levity, and the same essential superstition infected its political activities. The democracy was alternately convulsed by the passions of fear and of vengeance, intoxicated in its triumphs, and humiliated in its defeats. Politics, indeed, with it, was merely another form of superstition, which sought to interrupt rather than to understand those inflexible laws of nature that govern all existence. Its failure has a profound significance for us at the present time. It sacrificed for an illusory freedom the splendid destiny which lay before it: its brilliant gifts failed against the disciplined forces of Sparta; and the great achievements of Greek thinkers were diffused through the world by the triumphs of Alexander. For us there is nothing to emulate in the annals of Athenian democracy; its political and religious fanaticism should be as hateful to us as it was to Socrates, to Thucydides, to Plato, to Aristotle, and above all to Xenophon, the truest aristocrat in Athenian life and letters. These men were Athens' sternest critics; and it was because their qualities were lacking in the State as a whole, and neglected by it, that the adventure of Athenian democracy ended in ignominious failure.

SOCIAL LIFE IN IRELAND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

1. *The Life of James, First Duke of Ormonde, 1610-1688.* By Lady BURGHCLERE. Murray. 1912.
2. *The Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde.* 2 vols. Edited by Sir J. T. GILBERT, 1885-1899. 7 vols. Edited by C. LITTON FALKINER and F. ELRINGTON BALL, 1902-1912. Wyman and Sons.
3. *Calendars of State Papers, 1660-1670.* Edited by R. P. MAHAFFY; Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1905-1910.
4. *Illustrations of Irish History.* By C. LITTON FALKINER. Longmans, Green and Co. 1904.
5. *The Life of Ormonde.* By T. CARTE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1851.
6. *Orrery's Letters.* 1743.

FOR the study of social life in England in the seventeenth century there is abundant material provided in such easily accessible sources as the 'Life of Colonel Hutchinson' by his widow, the delightful Lucy Hutchinson; the 'Letters of Sergeant Nehemiah Wharton'; Lady Verney's charming 'Memoirs of the Verney Family'; Lord Herbert of Cherbury's amusing 'Autobiography'; Dorothy Osborne's vivid letters; and the diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. A perusal of these works soon reveals the fact that there were not a few distinctive types of gentry ranging from men like the noble-minded Hampden to the squire whose position was little better than that of the yeoman upon his estate. Even in England landowners, after 1660, both religiously and politically tended towards a common standard. In Ireland this tendency had always been felt, and was especially noticeable after the Restoration. The pressure of political events forced county society into a caste, yet the caste was never one of the Eastern type. Dr. Johnson announced oracularly that 'an English merchant was a new species of gentleman,' but the Irish prototype had existed long before this announcement. For trade as such he never manifested the contempt sometimes shown in England. When the corporation of Feltmakers in Dublin took out a patent in 1667 one reads among the list of

members such names as the Earl of Ossory, the Earl of Roscommon, the Earl of Anglesey, Lord Santry, Sir Edward Smith, and those of a couple of judges of the High Court in Dublin. There are, significantly enough, no Irishmen among the patentees. In the north Lord Conway imported painted tiles from Holland for his garden at Lisburn. 'They were put,' he tells us, 'in such weak wicker twig baskets that I doubt near 'a third part of them are broken. . . . There are 8000 un-' broken and I will have the broken ones put by themselves 'as they will not be quite useless.' Dutch brick was imported for the building of houses at Santry, Naas, and Quin in County Clare, the geographical position of these localities indicating that this import was more common than is imagined. The distinction, then, between tradesmen and gentlemen, which became clear in the eighteenth century, was blurred in the seventeenth.

From the days of the later Plantagenets to those of Charles II. Dublin had remained a walled town. The Restoration, however, witnessed an extraordinary revival and extension of the Irish capital, which transformed it from a medieval city into a modern metropolis. The city had been among the first to declare for the king across the water, and he bestowed upon the mayor thereof a gold chain and the title of the 'Right 'Honourable the Lord Mayor.' Strafford, the Richelieu of Ireland, had pondered over the adornment of the capital, but his dramatic execution on Tower Hill prevented the realisation of his plans. Then ensued the massacre of some six thousand Protestants in the rebellion of 1641.

'Fire and sword,
Red ruin and the breaking up of laws,'

fell upon the unhappy country for a whole decade. The iron rule of Cromwell repressed disorder, yet it did not tend to place security upon a permanent basis. The Cromwellian settlement laid the foundation of the two Irelands we behold to-day, the Ireland of the North and that of the South. The Acts of Settlement and Explanation deepened this foundation, which was not uprooted till the closing years of the nineteenth century. The new king brought peace, and in its train followed prosperity. Sir William Petty gives some idea of the economic condition of the country. Writing in 1672, he estimated the

total population as about 1,100,000. Perhaps this estimate is too high, for William Lloyd in his 'Common Place Book' * gives reasons for thinking that on the 10th of January 1695/6 there were 1,034,102 people. Lloyd estimates the number of houses in Dublin to the number in the rest of the kingdom as one to forty, and the number of people as one to twenty-six; this estimate receives substantial corroboration from a manuscript in the British Museum.†

Between the chief and the tribesman in Ireland, between the landlord and the tenant, lay few of that middle class which formed the strength of England. The Sculoags, the yeomen of the country, gradually declined and left no successors. In the opening decade of the seventeenth century the northern province received the Scots in the first Stuart plantation. They gave an element of the middle class to Ulster, though they undoubtedly deepened the dislike existing between the extremes of Ireland. Shakespeare, with his usual insight, notes the different types in northern and southern peoples: from this standpoint Othello and Romeo can be contrasted with Hamlet. Bellings‡ refers to 'that antient and everlasting 'difference between Leagh Cuin and Leagh Mow' (i.e. North and South Ireland).

The growing influence of Madame de Maintenon over Louis XIV. was not without effect upon the social condition of the country. As the persecuting edicts increased, the Huguenots fled to England even before that fatal year 1685. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes exercised a terribly evil influence upon France, but tended largely to the benefit of England and Ireland. For these lands not only absorbed the refugees, half a million of them altogether, who in character, conduct, and energy were the fine flower of France, but learnt a salutary lesson in toleration which they at last turned to profit. The British people welcomed the exiled Huguenots, and exiled the unwelcome king. Of all the unequal changes ever made, surely is this the most amazing. France gave us the Huguenots and received in return James II. But the evil did not end there. This expulsion of the middle class left to France only

* K. 4. 10, T.C.D.

† Add. 17406.

‡ 'Confederation and War,' iii. 11.

the nobles and the peasants ; there was no intermediate class understanding and sympathising with the high and lowly alike, and in almost exactly a century came the French Revolution. The silent movements of history are greater than the catastrophes which reveal them to us. If time be the greatest of innovators, its touch is so gentle that we can scarcely trace its working till some day the rough hand of man tears away the veil and shows us the work already accomplished. The persecution of the Jansenists and the Huguenots destroyed much of the best life in France, and left for the Revolution a nation unable to assimilate the new without destroying much that was valuable in the old. There was no class left in France that could transmit to succeeding generations with unweakened force the qualities of courage and determination which made the French Protestants hard-working men of business, sober and patient, which induced them to accept the Reformed religion, and which made them leave their country rather than abandon their faith.

The statesman, Southwell, and the prelate, King, were fully alive to the many possibilities of this immigration. The former tried to induce a Huguenot, Crommelin, to bring his linen manufacture from Lisburn to Kilkenny in the earnest hope that the south and west might become as industrial as the north. Crommelin endeavoured, with the active assistance of William III., to stretch a band of plantations from Limerick to Tipperary with the intention of doing in Munster what the plantation of 1608 had accomplished in Ulster. Had these statesmanlike designs succeeded we can see that the history of Ireland would have been utterly different. Her troubles at the present time are largely economic, and this means that they are agrarian. If there had been manufactures in the south as there are in the north, the land hunger could never have developed into the acute question it has proved to be. For, if agriculture were depressed, thriving industries might have compensated for the depression, but the paucity of manufactures rendered this source of relief out of the question. There is little use in speculating upon what might have been, still we cannot forbear expressing our intense admiration for the Colbertism of the English official and the Scots bishop. Unfortunately for the success of the plans of Sir Robert Southwell and William King, the Huguenots were tradespeople, not

farmers. The plantation in Munster therefore broke down, and therefore in Ulster the development of the linen manufacture proved a distinct success. Louis Crommelin, 'that skilful undertaker,' had been driven to Lisnagarvey, near Lisburn, by the repressive policy of another Louis, and both men contributed in no scanty degree to making possible the busy hum we hear in the streets of the Ulster metropolis, then but a small village nestling under the castle of the Chichesters.

Statesmen of the mercantile school thought that in every transaction the gain of one nation meant the loss of another. Untrue as this proposition is in the world of business, it was most emphatically true in the case of the Huguenots. The loss of France meant the gain of Ireland, and probably in no way has Louis XIV. left a more permanent mark upon the latter country. The tall chimneys and the black smoke of the Ulster factories are indirectly due to the harsh decrees of the absolute monarch at Versailles. From the haughty sovereign of France to the sweat-begrimed artisan of Belfast seems a far cry, and yet the folly of the one made possible the prosperity of the other. 'He builded better than he knew.' For when he signed the decree for the expulsion of five hundred thousand of his subjects he thereby sent many of them to Ireland, and helped to give that country some of the middle class she so sorely wanted. During the last forty years of the seventeenth century the refugees came in large numbers, gravitating, like the palatines from Germany, to the Protestant north in preference to the Roman Catholic south. The Celt, the Scot, the Frenchman, and the German all assisted in making the north what it is to-day, and to this intermingling of kindred races we trace that energy and enterprise so often characteristic of such blending of blood. Many of the best men of Ulster come from the strong stock of the Huguenots, from Puritan ancestors who scorned delight and lived laborious days, doing strenuously what their hand found to do, and thus fixing a type of character which forms the greatest of national assets. In old farmhouses one may still see on the book-shelf a Genevese French Bible or New Testament of the seventeenth century : on the fly-leaf we may trace the names of the refugees, written in ink browned with age, illegible from time and perhaps from tears. It is the frail memorial of a race that has left an abiding mark upon the north of Ireland. The very isolation of the

newcomers—a strange people in a strange land—helped to intensify their special characteristics, and so to increase the debt due from the country which eventually, to its own great gain, assimilated them. Dr. Bonn acutely remarks :

‘It was just this individuality that Ireland needed. Only where it was present was Irish colonisation successful. There [i.e. in Ulster] a community grew up, similar in many respects to the Puritan settlements in North America ; while in the remaining parts of Ireland the colonists’ rule created a social organisation which may be compared with that of the Slave States.’

For the rest of the country the evidence for the social life centres around the career of the first Duke of Ormonde. In his case there is no lack of material. Sir John T. Gilbert edited two volumes of the Ormonde papers ; then came the better continuation by that lamented historian Mr. C. Litton Falkiner, and by Dr. Elrington Ball. Lady Burghclere has lately written a competent life of the great Duke ; and of course there is the monumental, if somewhat unreadable, life by Thomas Carte. When the latter was compiling his biography he received permission to remove papers from Kilkenny. Of this permission he took much advantage, with the result that the very cream of a notable collection was removed to Oxford, where it now reposes in many volumes in the Bodleian Library. Such papers as did not suit Carte’s purpose he returned to Kilkenny, and in these rejected documents Mr. Litton Falkiner and Dr. Elrington Ball have found much of permanent value. Carte possessed the eighteenth-century regard for the dignity of history, and omits matter adding not a little to our comprehension of the social life of the day.

The Duke of Ormonde has secured the admiration not only of Carte but of all the historians of the nineteenth century who discuss his stirring days. Carlyle was not blind to the ‘distinguished integrity, patience, activity, and talent’ of the opponent of Oliver Cromwell. Macaulay describes him as ‘the ‘most illustrious of the cavaliers of the Great Civil War,’ while Lord Morley regards him as ‘one of the most admirably steady, fast, patient, clear-sighted, and honourable men in the list of ‘British statesmen.’ From his earliest days to his death in 1688 on the 21st of July,* ‘the most melancholy day I ever

* Husband and wife died on the same date in different years.

'passed in my life ; it was the day I lost my dear wife,' loyalty was the dominant note in his character. To us a belief in the divine right of kings seems somewhat absurd, but to one who had witnessed the rebellion of 1641 and the strife between Cavalier and Roundhead such a doctrine brought a reasoned basis upon which one might establish peace. That laws are vain without loyalty, that government can perform its function only when obedience is enshrined in the hearts of the governed, was the truth that the Duke of Ormonde had contended for. The return of Charles II. pleased his loyal heart, and he had the good fortune, from his point of view, not to witness the Revolution of 1688. Though he was three times Viceroy, yet he experienced many proofs of dis-favour from Charles II. In 1669 his sovereign recalled him at the instigation of the Cabal, the people wondering, Pepys records, at the disgrace of 'the greatest subject of any prince 'in Christendom, who hath done more for his Prince than ever 'yet any did.' John Dryden sang :

'The Court he practised, not the courtier's art.'

After eight years of neglect on the part of Charles II. and of devotion on the part of Ormonde, Charles exclaimed :

'Yonder comes Ormond. I have done all I can to disoblige that man, and to make him as discontented as the others ; but still he will not be out of humour with me ; he will be loyal in spite of my teeth ; I must even take him in again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland.'

His loyalty was great ; so too was his family pride. With much reason he speaks of the 'name my family has borne some 'ages, I thank God, without blemish or reproach.' At the tender age of eleven a marriage was arranged with the only child of the Countess of Desmond, the Lady Elizabeth Preston, a damsel of seven. The negotiations were as long and as complicated as the diplomatic affairs of the time. The conscientious father felt bound to provide for his son's future to the best of his ability, but so many differences arose that the proposal for the hand of the Lady Elizabeth was broken off. Romeo and Juliet, however, met after the death of both the parents of the latter. The cousins liked each other, and the young

Viscount paid a visit, 'going in disguise (as a romantic lover) 'through Kensington, with a pedlar's pack on his back.' The document labelled 'Passages in early life of James, 1st Duke,' relates that :

'on opening his pack he presented to her a pair of gloves, into one of which he had before conveyed a letter, which she, in his drawing on of the glove perceiving, pretended to have no money in her pocket to pay for the gloves; and notwithstanding the young ladies offered to lend her money, yet she retired to her chamber to fetch money, and being there, perused the letter, and soon after returned with the gloves again (into which she as cunningly conveyed an answer) which she returned to the amorous pedlar, pretending they had an ill smell. What were the contents of either of these letters can be no otherwise possibly guessed at (because they were so secretly contrived, as all amorous intrigues are) than by the success. For within a small space after, the young couple liked each other so well that notwithstanding all the circumspections and strict guards of the Countess of Holland they were happily married.'

The bride and bridegroom were under age, and the latter was obliged to enter into a bond to pay the guardian of the former, the Earl of Holland, a sum of £30,000, 'which for several 'years before it was paid lay as a heavy load upon the Earl of 'Ormond.' When one takes into account the value of money in 1629 the heaviness of the load can better be appreciated. On his honeymoon he read for the first time and enjoyed 'The 'Counterscuffle,' a poem giving *inter alia* a detailed account of food :

'Egges by the dozen new and good
Which in white salt uprightly stood.

Fish buttered to the Platter's brim,
And parsnips did in butter swim
Strew'd one with pepper neat and trim,
Salt Salmon,

Smelts cry'd, come eate me, do not stay,
And next to these a lusty Ba-
Con Gammon.

Stucke thick with cloves upon the backe
Well stufft with Sage and for the smacke
Daintly strew'd with Pepper Blacke.'

Ordering for the table was not a serious matter, in the morning at least. There was no cup of tea awaiting the mistress before she arose to discharge her household duties. At the end of the century the price of a pound of tea was about thirty shillings, an amount that was tolerably prohibitive. There was nothing to break one's fast till dinner, which was served between eleven and twelve o'clock. Carving was then done by the hostess, not by the host, for the large party at table. As a concession, the custom of supper began to appear, but it seems to have been of a very light nature indeed. The ladies sat together at the head of the table, while the gentlemen sat at the bottom. It was William III. who introduced the Dutch fashion of seating the sexes alternately.

The fine towers of the Castle of Kilkenny rise a splendid pile above the silvery wave that Edmund Spenser sang. The numerous inhabitants that the thick walls sheltered added not a little to the duties of the Duchess of Ormonde. Samuel Pepys, busy man as he was, taught his wife how to manage her household accounts, and she made such progress that he notes 'My wife and I all the afternoon at arithmetic, and she 'is come to Addition, Subtraction, & Multiplication very well.' The drawbacks of the lack of such instruction were painfully felt by the great Earl of Cork. To his daughter, Lady Barrymore, and to his daughter-in-law, Lady Dungarvan, he gave fifty pounds a week for household expenses, and added to this sum the produce of the lands and woods round the castle. The ladies found this sum insufficient, and ran into debt to the tune of £700. A year after this unpleasant discovery Lord Cork was shocked to find a bill for a tun of claret wine, costing £18, unpaid. The standard set by the conscience of the Duchess of Ormonde was a far different one, and her many letters attest the care she bestowed upon her household duties. This care extended to the affairs of her children when they married. It is clear from a letter of the 3rd of August 1687 that she was distressed at the plight of her gallant son, Lord Ossory, and his wife:

'I have lately inquired into the young people's management' [she writes] 'and condition in their domestic affairs, but I find Mr. Pett is either unskilful in keeping or somewhat unwilling to give in an account. Already I find they were considerably in debt, though they were put into a free condition, with an advance

of a quarter's allowance, all things for housekeeping provided for them; their house rent paid for them beyond my obligation; and an access of 800*l.*, a year fallen to them, and this at a season when our rents are so ill paid in Ireland. Pett says he will this week give in a more methodical and certain account, which I have ordered James Clarke and Valentine Smith to take and bring to me.'

In spite of the many activities of her life she regularly scrutinised her weekly expenses, and was plainly perturbed when she ascertained that the clerk of the kitchen was not 'as just as he ought to be.' She declared her intention of replacing him at the first opportunity by a single man, for the clerk had turned the heads of some of the maids. The salary of this official was twenty pounds annually, while his assistant demanded fifteen pounds a year, 'but I with much ado brought him to £10'—not an extravagant wage for one who was certified to have 'skill to powder meat and to keep the wet larder; he is a cook besides, and has served as a caterer seven years in a gentleman's house.' On the other hand the Duchess comments upon her domestics in terms not unknown at the present day: 'So strange a time this is for servants, as people of all degrees complain that they were never so bad as now.'

There was much distress around Kilkenny due in part to the war that raged from 1641 to 1651 and to the land settlement that emerged from it. Elizabeth Ormonde gave daily to the many claimants from 'the tables in the hall.' To many sufferers from the Rebellion she acted the part of Lady Bountiful, succouring, for example, more than a hundred victims, 'and did clothe, feed, and relieve them with all necessities.' This instance is typical, for Thomas Roth testifies that 'to my knowledge the said lady did relieve and provide for many other English in the like condition.' This generosity was not of the kind that expends its energies in momentary enthusiasm. Out of her private purse she supported the large family of Joseph Wheeler, a distressed gentleman, for two years, and from the same source supported twelve poor children. Her kindness to the latter was of that personal nature she always displayed. These twelve orphans she saw twice a week, for she regarded them as 'her children.'

Generous to her dependants, she was lavish to her family and to her friends. 'I never parted from her,' maintains Lady

Fanshawe, 'but she ever gave me some present.' She received torquoise and diamond bracelets 'and fasset and diamond rings.' Charles II. created Lord Ossory a Knight of the Garter: outside the ranks of royalty, Lord Howe and he are the only two men who have received this signal honour. Ossory's instalment 'has been of some charge to my Lord [i.e. 'Ormonde] who was willing to help him on that occasion, and 'did unto the value of £500.' The new knight's mother was obliged to borrow £200 'for so much I owe for a diamond 'George that I gave unto my son Ossory' on this happy occasion. Expenditure of money drove her into difficulties, and we are not surprised to read that in 1668 she felt herself obliged 'to pawn 'a pair of diamond pendants worth £700'; on this article Sir Stephen Fox advanced her £500. As wife of the Viceroy of Ireland she naturally required a coach fitting for one in her high position. The contractor, one Phelps by name, furnished an estimate, but, like coachbuilders of our own day, the actual cost was in excess of the original amount. It was felt that a fine coach was indispensable: Sir George Rawdon thought this as strongly as the Duchess of Ormonde, if one may judge from the elaborate directions he gives:

'I would have a good one, though it cost near £100, of this new fashion with glass . . . and of an ordinary size both for street or way, to hold four and easy for my wife to get up into by a step, not to fall too low which in deep ways is inconvenient; and to have it strong and [of] well seasoned timber is the chief point. . . . if buckles and other things be sent, I can have as good harness made at Lisburn as at London and cheaper.'

When the roads were so bad as they were in the seventeenth century there was need not only for a strong coach but for from four to six horses to drag it out of the ruts.

The expenses of the Duke of Ormonde were no less than those of his wife. His official duties required his presence in London, and accordingly he was obliged to purchase a residence at Moor Park, since immortalised by its connexion with Dean Swift. Lord Anglesey gives a description of the place, and we may take for granted that it was one the Duke would care for.

'I was last week' [he writes on the 8th of September 1663] 'to view Moor Park, which I find to be still the same sweet and pleasant seat I knew it before, and had a taste of the goodness of your Grace's venison. The house is neat and convenient for the bigness, but

no way suitable to the largeness of your Grace's family, but very answerable to such starts of retirement as you will be able to make from Court. The gardens are extraordinary, full of delightful walks and fountains and terraces with covered walks for rainy weather, and I believe the very lead of the terraces and house is not less worth than £1500. The Park is well wooded, but none to be spared for sale, yet may be valued for £1500.

'The Park is set out into walks shaded with trees set in rows, and there is a fair brick lodge, that hath the prospect of most of the Park and country, and may be seen at the end of a long walk out of your dining room window, in fine, when you will refresh yourself for a few days with the country air, your Grace cannot do it anywhere better, and the way will hold you but two hours or little more riding. It is an inclosed country and so not the best for hawking or hunting, though passable for both, but there is excellent brook hawking, which I think your Grace takes pleasure in; and Sir Richard Franklin likes the place so well that though he hath sold your Grace the best, he is building for himself upon some other ground within sight of your pale. I know the place will please my Lady Duchess well.'

The Duke placed Moor Park in charge of a genial rogue, one James Buck. His own expenses, however, prevented his keeping this pleasant retreat, and in 1670 he felt compelled to sell it to the Duke of Monmouth for £13,200. Perhaps in this connexion we may mention the fact that the Duke of Ormonde established the nucleus of the Phoenix Park, a place that has contributed much to the social amenities of the metropolis. There were no sedan chairs or cars plying 'sufficient to accommodate ladies and other persons of quality either for the 'journeys into the country or to the sea-side from Dublin, or 'from one place to another in Dublin' until in February 1665 René Mézandière, a French servant of the Lord Lieutenant's, petitioned for leave to have a monopoly of such conveyances. Sir William Davenant had been permitted to erect two theatres in London and one in Dublin: he was also made Master of the Revels in Ireland for life. A command performance was given on the 3rd of May 1669, when we read that:

'Tuesday in the afternoon his Excellency went to the Theatre, where *The Loyal Subject* by Beaumont and Fletcher, first played in 1618, was acted. The house was full of all the ladies and nobility in town. The actors, most of them, act very well. They want good clothes. But his Excellency's bounty and the advantage they will have by his countenance will soon make both them and the scenes very fine.'

This amateur dramatic critic displays a touching belief in vice-regal patronage, warranted however by some of the facts of the case. A benefit which was perhaps more appreciated by the citizens was the fountain of claret which played when the Lord Lieutenant formally entered the streets of the capital city in 1665; brandy and usquebagh were also consumed. During the hot summer of that year a favourite amusement was to go to the new bowling-green which had just been laid out by Alderman Tighe at Oxmantown. To it Ormonde and his circle regularly resorted to play bowls, whilst the ladies played kettlepins at Oxmantown Green, close to the present entrance gate to the Phoenix Park. Card playing was also usual: the games were ombre, the favourite one, basset and trick-track. Quarrels at play were not uncommon, and duels from this cause arose. In 1669, for example, a triple duel took place over a gambling dispute. The men engaged were Lord Brabazon and Captain Savage, Captain Fitzgarret and Lieutenant Bridges, and Lieutenant Trevor Lloyd and Captain Slaughter. The results were serious; Fitzgarret and Bridges were dangerously wounded, while Slaughter was slain. The great days, however, of duelling in Ireland were not till the eighteenth century.

Horse-racing was known in County Kildare, especially at the Curragh. Its popularity may be gauged from the fact that at one race in Kildare town there were in 1684 'above two thousand horse in the field when the little plate was run for.' In County Antrim and County Down very large wagers were laid on horse races. The letters of Sir George Rawdon show his strong interest in matches between two horses, the form which racing took in the north. His correspondence is unquestionably the most fascinating in the four volumes of State Papers. Sir George has much to say about his demesne and estate at Lisburn, his efforts to improve it, and his deep interest in sport. In particular he is very anxious to make his new duck-decoy a worthy rival to Sir Edward Rodney's famous one in Somerset. Lord Conway sent him a Dutch fowler, Martin Johnson van Heyninge, who displays an enthusiasm very gratifying to the heart of his employer. Sir George had in view not only pleasure but profit, for he was desirous to realise the evidently high price of half-a-crown or three shillings for a brace of duck. The Duke of Ormonde cared much for hawking and hunting, and on these topics his

friend, Colonel Cooke, writes with very strong enthusiasm indeed. In a letter of the 29th of March 1679 Cooke answers at some length 'those material questions proposed in your 'letter of March 20 concerning hawks, hounds, and horses.' Ormonde's hunting zeal was, we fear, moderate, for when he heard the sound of the Castle dinner-bell he turned homewards, no matter how exciting a stage the chase had reached.

In the Castle of Kilkenny there was an unusually well stocked library. According to the catalogue, made on the 6th of January 1685, there were about a thousand volumes on the shelves. Classical and Italian books were strongly represented, and there were many historical works. Among the latter we find such tomes as Ware's 'Annals of Ireland,' Rushworth's 'Historical Collections,' Milton's 'History of 'England,' Sir Walter Raleigh's 'History,' and Froissart's 'History.' Doubtless a book like Saumaise's 'Apologie pour 'le Roi Charles I.' was dear to the heart of the loyal reader. We know that Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying,' 'Ashton on Toleration,' and R. T.'s 'Liberty of Conscience' made a peculiar appeal to Ormonde, for in an intolerant age he was distinguished by his tolerance. In his own family there were many members Roman Catholics, and he never placed the slightest pressure upon them to change their creed. From his own faith he could say with truth that he never swerved, even when Charles II. was King :

'not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not upon any who have held another course, but will charitably hope that though their changes happened to be always to the prosperous side, yet they were by the force of present conviction.'

In other parts of Ireland differences of religion dissolved family ties, but the Duke of Ormonde was unable to forget the obligations of nature and owned 'not only that I have done 'but that I will do my relations of that or any other persuasion 'all the good I can.' In addition to works on toleration there were many plays—one shelf contained a twelve-volume collection, and another a thirty-volume collection—and much poetry ranging from Chaucer onwards. In these lighter volumes the ladies of the house found more enjoyment than in the folios on divinity. During their exile abroad in the days of the Commonwealth they no doubt were able to read

Mlle. Scudéri's French romance: even the delightful Dorothy Osborne enjoyed the volumes of 'The Grand Cyrus' as light literature.

The early age for the marriage of ladies, however, left them little time for reading. The bride of the seventeenth century averaged thirteen to eighteen years, and the bridegroom fifteen to twenty-eight. The notion of marriage as an alliance was as prevalent then in Ireland in all classes as it is in France at this moment. The parents arranged the affair while those most concerned were merely boys and girls. As possessions, in money or in land, played the chief part in the negotiations, it is wonderful to read of so many really happy couples. One result of the system was that few eligible men and women remained outside the holy estate. Nowadays a single woman with means is a comparatively free person. She can have her flat in London, and is not regarded as peculiar if she follows a profession or devotes her time to philanthropic causes. Of course, in the Restoration days such a life would have been wholly impossible. Her father and mother would have regarded themselves as failures if they had not a bridegroom provided for her before she reached her majority. One of the exceedingly few unattached women was Mistress Dorothy Leeke, whose personality charms us in the Verney Memoirs. Perhaps she felt that the love poetry she read bore little relation to marriage, for it is significant that this was the attitude of the poets of the day. At the same time the contemporary memoirs, letters, and drama were beginning to protest against the notion of these arranged alliances. The runaway match makes its appearance. In Dublin on the 3rd of March 1684 Mr. Gerald Borr notes that the sole talk of the town was 'the misfortune of Mrs. Agnetta Stephens, who 'privately married Hitchcock, the minister, last Friday night 'without the knowledge, but to the great grief, of her mother 'and friends.' It must be admitted that the tone of the correspondence to the young lady concerned leaves much to be desired.

Smallpox was a disease with which the doctors of the time were unable to cope. For either sex it was a dreadful visitation, but especially for a woman. Lord Courcy's sister was portionless, but it was believed that 'her birth and the agreeableness 'of her, and some countenance (they hope) may get her a

'tolerable husband.' Then came the news that she 'is fallen 'into the smallpox, the most terrible disease to a young lady, 'but I hope she will come off with life and without impair of 'beauty.' After the lapse of years even now we cannot help feeling sorry for poor Betty Stanhope. Her grandfather calmly records that her bridegroom-to-be 'is not very agree-able in shape though in all other respects valuable enough.' As he was heir to an estate of ten thousand a year, what more could Betty expect? The range of choice for the daughters of the smaller gentry was limited by the great difficulties of getting about. The round of visits paid in the family coach or pillioned behind their brothers did not extend beyond thirty miles from the home of the young ladies. The roads were bad, but facilities for correspondence were even worse. The General Post Office in Dublin was not well managed: the postmaster was seldom an experienced man. One of them, Mr. Bathhurst, was an Anabaptist. Letters to members of his own communion he forwarded, and opened the letters addressed to many gentlemen and merchants. He was in the habit of carrying correspondence to his home, and no one knew what became of it. Writers felt the effect of this negligence at head-quarters, for post-boys left packets at ale-houses of no repute, where they were sometimes lost. The old custom had been to deliver the letters to the addresses from the several appointed stages. From Dublin to Newtown, County Cork, the post set out on a Tuesday and arrived on a Friday, returning to Dublin the Monday following. The postage too was sixpence, a heavy rate when the value of money then is remembered. The mail to London was especially uncertain: the State Papers frequently record that for two, three, or even four weeks no packet had arrived.

Thus the opportunities for ladies to meet suitors were limited, and we do not feel much surprise at the anxiety of the fathers and mothers to arrange *mariages de convenance*. The Earl of Cork was devoted to his children, yet in the matter of alliances for them the eligibility of the partners formed the prime consideration when he decided to give or to withhold his consent. Apparently the Duke and Duchess of Ormonde, after the manner of parents, forgot the romantic circumstances of their own marriage when they came to select partners for their children, namely, Thomas, Earl of Ossory;

Richard, Earl of Arran ; Lord John Butler ; and the Lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter. The last-named married the Earl of Chesterfield, who seemed very much in love with her. This does not surprise us when we remember that Count Anthony Hamilton describes her as :

'one of the most agreeable women in the world ; she had a most exquisite shape, though she was not very tall. She was fair, with all the glow and whiteness of a blonde, and all the animation and piquancy of a brunette. She had large blue eyes, which were very alluring ; her manners were engaging, her wit lively and amusing.'

True, he qualifies his description when he adds that the 'lady's' heart, ever open to tender sentiments, was neither scrupulous 'in point of constancy, nor nice in point of sincerity.' At the time of his marriage Chesterfield loved passionately Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine. The pair therefore were well matched in sincerity, or rather in the want of it.

In spite of the unhappiness of her daughter, the Duchess remained an inveterate match-maker, and her letters abound in references to possible brides for her three sons. In her communication of the 3rd of April 1666 to Mr. Secretary Arlington she lays down the principles that guide her—we do not modernise her spelling :

'The mache you were pleased to propose for my son John I have consulted my Lord in ; and find upon the consideration of the depte yet resting upon his fortune, the unsartanties of moneys coming in. out of which the same should be discharged, his rents besides falling and ill paid by reason of the great and general poverty of the kingdom by the present war [i.e. with the Dutch] and inhibition of transporting cattell from hense into England, as they did formerly, forses him out of these considerations rather to decline that advantage, that by your lordship's, my Lord Crofts' and Mr. Cofferer's endeavours with some probability might have taken effect, than add to his engagement so considerable a sum as would be expected, and might reasonably be so, by the young lady's friends. We must therefore defer the project in which you kindly assisted after the match with Lord Hawly's grandchild had failed.'

The modesty of these words is in part due to the fact that John was the youngest son and that he was a hopeless scapegrace. In the end, even John made a great alliance, marrying in 1676 the Lady Ann Chichester, daughter of the first Earl of Donegall. Perhaps some items in his expenses may be mentioned. As Captain of the Guards his 'entertainment'

for eighteen months amounted to £336, a sum that must be multiplied by at least three to arrive at its present value. His debts in 1672 amounted to £2135, and of this £686 was due for dress. The following forms an abstract of his charge at Kilkenny :

Mr. St. Leger's bill for wines and tobacco and candles,									
amounts to	19	18	10						
Mr. Tho. Cooksie's bill for meat	03	01	09						
Mr. Archer's bill for groceries	02	17	00						
A bill charged by Kyran Loughlin for several									
necessaries	03	04	07						
The labourer and woman employed in the kitchen .	01	03	00						
Kyran Loughlin's disbursements	04	18	07						
Mr. Roth's bill for groceries	01	02	04						
Mr. Garnet's bill for bread	02	07	04						
Mr. Garnet's bill for bread for the horses	00	11	00						
Mr. Wright's bill for wines	14	00	06						
Robt. Joyce's bill for tobacco and pipes and cards	00	05	11						
Half-a-hogshead of wine brought from Clonmel .	04	00	00						
Another bill of Mr. Garnet's for bread	00	07	01						
	57	17	11						
Anthony Phillip's bill for meat	01	05	02						
	59	03	01						

The time during which these debts were incurred is not given ; but it is at least clear that Lord John Butler spent money as extravagantly as his mother.

On the 13th of May 1672 the Duchess writes triumphantly to her brother, Captain George Mathew :

' If you have not heard from me frequently of late as you might expect, you will the less wonder when you hear of two marriages in my family that are near concluded ; the one for my son Ossory's daughter unto the Earl of Derby ; the other my son Arran to the daughter of one Mr. Ferrers, one of the best and ancientest families of England ; formerly Earls of Essex. The portion is £12,000, and but one sickly young man, her brother, between her and £3000 a year after her father's decease.

' . . . My Lord and I were for strengthening of our family by the best alliances, to fortify it against the malice of mean and little people that has laboured all they could to ruin us.'

From a worldly point of view Lady Elizabeth Butler, the Earl of Arran, and Lord John Butler married excellently, though the eldest son, the Earl of Ossory, married very badly indeed. The portraits by Kneller and Flatman render no

justice to the gifted Ossory. He was a fencer and a tennis player of no mean repute, while his singing of Spanish songs and his playing of the guitar and lute rendered him pleasant company. His powers as a brave admiral, a capable governor, and an able statesman attest his versatility. Men so different as Charles II., the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), Louis XIV., William of Orange, Van Tromp, and John Evelyn cordially admired his noble and unselfish character. The cold heart of William was so much moved that he wrote to Lord Arlington on the 18th of August 1680 :

'Asseurement vous n'auriez scu une plus triste nouvelle que la mort de M. le Comte d'Ossory. J'en ay senti une si sensible douleur que s'il avoit esté mon frere je n'en aurois pu avoir davantage. Je scay la perte que toute la famille fait, et je puis dire avec verité qu'il n'y a personne qui y compatit plus que je fais.'

During his residence at the Hague, this attractive young man fell in love with Mademoiselle Emilia de Beverweert, daughter of the Governor of Sluys. She was a very poor match for the heir of the great House of Butler, her fortune being no more than ten thousand pounds. Seventeenth-century love-letters are scarce, and we therefore make no apology for giving extracts from the correspondence. Unlike his wife, the Duke was sympathetic to his son. Ossory confesses :

'I that have never believed there was such a thing as love before, and that have so much jeered at others for being it, can not but with much shame confess that I am so much overtaken with it that, if I fail in this, I shall never have a concern for any other ; but, though the trouble would be infinite if my endeavours succeed not, yet I make it my business to prepare myself to receive either event with moderation, as much as I can ; the thing I am to desire of my mother is to know what she can do as to my fortune. . . . I have already said something to her of my inclinations, but have not received this two months one letter from her ; there are persons of Quality that have the same design that I have, and though I flatter myself with the thoughts that I might be preferred by her, yet she professes to give in all things entire obedience to her parents' pleasure, though never so much to her particular dissatisfaction.'

One cannot help sympathising with the feelings of this very devoted lover. His mother had set her heart upon a better match, and brought forward a daughter of the Earl of Southampton. To her son she wrote sharply :

'Although I do not account it so out of any disvalue or exception I have unto the person of the lady, but that you should have en-

gaged yourself so far in your affection, as I perceive that you have done before you had known whether this match could be suiting with your Fortune or Not, which, in prudence unto your self, and Justice unto your Family, ought to have Governed you beyond that of your Pastime, and that it may yet be is the prayer and hope of your affectionate Mother, E. Ormonde.'

In this letter we can see the spirit of the matron of those days.

Ossory sorrowfully complains that his mother 'will not so much as try if my interest may not suit with my inclination,' for her reproof naturally reduced him to the depths of despair. The fresh alliance proposed by her does not move his steadfast affection:

'the most considerable was Mr. Fretswel's daughter, who has eighteen hundred pounds a year, but that he would not settle upon her, but would engage some of it for eight thousand pounds ready money, and if he died without children, would leave her the rest; but besides this, there is out of it one, if not two, daughters to be provided for; another was Sir Walter Pye's daughter, who said he would, by disinheriting of his son, make her worth more than twenty thousand pounds, but in that he overshot himself . . . other things have been endeavoured by her [i.e. his mother], but none came near anything, people both fearing our alliance and believing Irish fortunes little considerable. I am just now told' [he sorrowfully adds] 'the post is come, and that I have no letters.'

He employed his secretary, Mr. Page, to propitiate his mother, declaring that

'among other conditions that made me prefer this woman to any in England, it was no small one that I am sure her discretion in expense would render a small fortune more considerable by well ordering of it than the double would be with one of our country, who, certainly' [he unfairly points out] 'are the most extravagant of any people in the world in that particular.'

Worn out by the importunities of Ossory, the Duchess of Ormonde at last gave her consent to the engagement. It is satisfactory to know that to the last hour of his wife's life, he remained convinced, to use his own words, 'that it is not riches that makes one happy, and that if one has an entire affection for one person, the thought of another, let the advantages be ever so great, cannot but be odious.'

ROBERT H. MURRAY.

AN ELIZABETHAN POET AND MODERN POETRY

1. *The Poems of John Donne*. Edited from the old editions and numerous manuscripts, with Introductions and Commentary by HERBERT J. G. GRIERSON, M.A., Chalmers Professor of English Literature in the University of Aberdeen. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 1912.
2. *Georgian Poetry, 1911-1912*. The Poetry Bookshop. 1912.

IT is alike the despair and the solace of human existence that we can divine little more from the world of men or books or of solitude than what we bring to them. We are limited by the straitness, by the unity in diversity, the diversity in unity, of our senses. The mind is a mirror that can reflect no more of reality than its clearness and circumference can command. It is experience that searches us, rather than we who search experience. Beauty itself depends for its being, less on that which reveals it than on him who perceives it. The best things—if in a sense it is true that the best is not only highest good but what is rarest—can, therefore, never be really popular. And so, as Ben Jonson wrote to Lucy, Countess of Bedford, in one of his 'Epigrams,' published in 1616, and prefixed to the 1650 edition of the works of John Donne: 'Rare poems ask rare friends.' Even regarding the Satires, Jonson argued that since the majority of mankind is the subject of them, few can appreciate them without offence; and those few must be of the best. And, turning from Donne's 'Egeria' to the poet himself, he scornfully dismisses 'those that for claps 'doe write':

'A man should seek great glory, and not broad.'

That will always, as things go, be Donne's fate as a poet—great glory, but not broad. He captures an ardent, almost impassioned, few; but has little share in the admiration of the many. He is too bare and direct, and he is too obscure and abstruse. He is at the same time too little and too much a poet. Jonson, indeed, though he enthusiastically acknowledged him as 'the first poet in the world for some things,' also remarked in convivial confidence to Drummond, that 'Done himself, for 'not being understood, would perish.' It is undeniable that the

full appreciation of his work, even by his devotees, needs not only all the research, scholarship, acute analysis, and sustained and penetrating diligence and thought that Professor Grierson has given to this new and surely definitive edition : it needs also some temperamental affinity, a certain openness of mind, and freedom from prejudice. To some extent, too, even in regard to the work of Donne's headlong, hedonistic youth, such appreciation is a question of age. Life, fortunately, does not empty her whole cornucopia of delights on man's devoted head in one generous gesture. She refuses to let him ever irretrievably 'come of age.' She reserves joys for maturity, joys for antiquity. And Donne is among those intended for life's meridian—when we look before and after and are compelled to realise that thenceforth, though our wisdom may ripen, it will ripen at the expense of the tree.

It is possible, of course, to read and delight in Donne, to blunder on through the difficulties, putting one's own free interpretation on his meaning, without seeking or desiring the aid of notes and references. Most poetry should be so read. But even if Mr. Grierson were not concerned with textual corruptions and misreadings, Donne's poetry is only enriched, much of it even is actually retrieved, by the sagacity which such an editor can bring to bear upon it. For, as Mr. Grierson explains, 'the text and canon of Donne's poems present an editor in one form or another with all the chief problems which confront the editor of a classical or mediæval author.' His attempt has been to face these problems and to overcome them. Practical experience revealed their presence. One cannot, as Mr. Grierson was compelled to discover, explain what one does not understand. A close scrutiny of previous editions assured him that all of them, including those of Grosart and of Mr. Chambers, were in certain respects either inaccurate or misleading, or had been unsystematically prepared. Not until his task was nearly completed did Mr. Grierson discover in the Grolier Club edition—an edition published in America, revised by Lowell and edited by Professor Norton and Mrs. Burnett—a partial anticipation of his own considered scheme. That scheme was to return to what after careful examination proved to be the most trustworthy of the five editions published during the seventeenth century—the edition of 1633. In this, all the poems—with the exception of three which appeared in Donne's

lifetime, and of those which were added later—were published for the first time.

But before arriving at this conclusion, and in order to present the full canon of Donne's poems and of such as have been rightly or wrongly attributed to him, not only a searching examination, but in some instances a complete collation of upwards of forty manuscript versions of the poems was necessary. Mr. Grierson's primary achievement, then, is a text as near accuracy as mortal care can bring it, together with a page-by-page citation of the smallest variations in the several readings. From Mr. Gosse's invaluable Westmoreland MS. nine poems have been added, and one from the Burley MS.

But all this irksome and unostentatious work is only a fraction of Mr. Grierson's devoted service on behalf of his author. No less than three comprehensive introductions are concerned with Donne's poetry, with text and canon. In the first of these Mr. Grierson analyses Donne's wit—that 'wonder-inciting vigour, intenseness, and peculiarity,' as Coleridge described it; or, in the words of De Quincey, 'the last sublimation of dialectical subtlety and address with the most impassioned majesty.' He discusses the absence of description in Donne's poetry, his melancholy and scepticism, his worldly ambition, steadfast effort and (after the death of his wife) profound, self-plaguing penitence. He explains the by no means inexplicable extremes of sensuality and spiritual exaltation revealed in his love poetry. But though Mr. Grierson expresses a warm and discerning appreciation, the general tone of his essay—to those readers at least who find it impossible to keep their admiration of Donne on this side idolatry—will suggest something in the nature of an apology. He seems to be addressing an audience inclined to be hostile, or at least neutral, rather than sympathetic. And his references, for comparison, to Tennyson, Burns, and Mr. Bridges are neither very apt nor happy.

On the other hand, the serious student of Donne will be enthusiastically grateful for every one of Mr. Grierson's two hundred and seventy-five pages of Commentary. Without the least parade, acrimony, or contentiousness, and with the readiest modesty, Mr. Grierson faces countless and at times almost insuperable difficulties, and elucidates nearly all of them. Such a

commentary, apart from its being an indispensable appendix to the poems, may be read and enjoyed at leisure as an *olla podrida* of curious and far-fetched knowledge and scholarship, and a kind of natural history of Elizabethan ideas.

The finest achievement of most lyrical poets—Keats, Coleridge, Herrick, Blake, Shelley—seems to be something apart and aloof from their mere workaday selves. It is the outcome of rare, heightened moments, of an elusive and, to a certain degree, alien impulse. We speak of inspiration and so imply an instrument attuned. We speak of art and so imply a direct choice and rejection. And such poetry, alike for writer and reader, is the fruit of a golden pause in life, when time's chariot-wheels are at rest, and the heart no longer tolls *memento mori*, or whispers a feverish *carpe diem*, but beats for a while to an immortal rhythm. Existence is simplified in this intensified and isolated moment. Life is no longer a riddle but a dream.

Donne's poetry is different. He is the poet not of escape from, but into, the depths and mysteries of personality. It is his personality that enslaves us. 'By our first strange and 'fatal interview,' we are once and for all made captive. He can be almost as intolerably coarse as Swift, as ecstatic as Shelley, as imaginative as Sir Thomas Browne, as nimble and insolent as Mercutio, as thought-ridden as Hamlet, as solemn as the *Dies Irae*, as paradoxical as a latter-day moralist. He may overwhelm a lyric with learning, juggle with the erudite ideas of 'wrangling schooles,' be affectedly and fantastically intellectual, tediously labyrinthine. 'Subtile to plague him-
'self' he was; but however straitened the view we catch of him, he is always in some indefinable and virtual fashion the man—John Donne. And it is from out of the midst of his obscurity, in the hugger-mugger, as it were, of his alembics and retorts, that we are suddenly dazzled and enthralled by a sheer incandescence of thought and feeling—the attar of his poetry. Donne 'perplexes the mind of the fair sex,' said Dr. Johnson. None the less, except it be Browning, far more of a sentimentalist, in spite of his philosophical gallantry, than Donne, to no other poet do women—apart from the 'fair sex'—owe a rarer debt for his insight, exquisite tenderness, and masculine understanding. No man ever 'deeper digg'd loves Myne' than Donne, nor retrieved from it a stranger treasure. Who that has

really read him does not know 'by heart' 'The undertaking,' 'Sweetest love, I do not goe,' 'The Funerall,' 'The Exstacie,' 'A Nocturnall,' 'A Valediction: of weeping,' the Anniversaries, the best of the Elegies; the wonderful onset of 'Aire and Angels,' of 'Loves Deitie,' 'The Legacie,' 'A Feaver,' of 'The good-morrow'?

Throughout his life the same bare, emotional directness is apparent, from 'The Canonization'—'For Godsake hold your tongue, and let me love,'—to the 'Holy Sonnets':

'Thou hast made me, And shall thy worke decay?
 Repaire me now, for now mine end doth haste,
 I runne to death, and death meets me as fast,
 And all my pleasures are like yesterday;
 I dare not move my dimme eyes any way,
 Despaire behind, and death before doth cast
 Such terrour, and my feeble flesh doth waste
 By sinne in it, which, it t'wards hell doth weigh;
 Onely thou art above, and when towards thee
 By thy leave I can looke, I rise againe;
 But our old subtle foe so tempteth me,
 That not one houre my selfe I can sustaine;
 Thy Grace may wing me to prevent his art,
 And thou like Adamant draw mine iron heart.'

Reading him, we do not throw off the world; we are not, as by a miracle, made innocent and happy. 'Witty depravity,' the sharpest actuality, extremes of exultation and despair, passion and disillusionment, love, death, the grave, corruption—all this is the material of his verse—a verse that breaks into beauty and music the moment feeling and thought are clear and free. Everything that we have—mind, body, soul—he invites to his intimacy.

'A naked thinking heart, that makes no show,'

is his demand; a reader 'mad with much heart,' rather than 'ideott with none'; but he exercises also all our mature, modern complexity, for 'man is a lumpe, where all beasts kneaded bee.' 'Made one anothers hermitage,' we share with him a tense, vigilant, silence in some withdrawn chamber of our minds,

'as men who through a Cipres see
 The rising sun.'

'Forget this rotten world!' he cries; what 'fragmentary
'rubbidge' it all is!

'And unto thee
Let thine own times as an old story be.'

The house of life, darkened, haunted, is above and around us. Brightest lover and friend, like clear-illuminated ghosts, offer their wordless company. Passionately realised, or dimmed in ecstatic brooding, long they have been away,

'long, long, yet none
Offers to tell us who it is that's gone.'

For us in this solitude with him, at any moment a further door may quietly open, and Death, like a groom, will bring a 'taper to the outward room.' 'The last busie day' done, we shall 'ebbe out with them, who homeward goe': and then, 'good morrow to our waking soules.' Only the best of life is in most poets; all man's inward life is in Donne—from his reckless, squandered youth, the youth of the long sensual face, with its high, sloping forehead, wide, dreaming, searching, interrogative eyes, to the shroud-swathed, 'ruinous Anatomie' of the Droeshout engraving. And his poetry has conferred upon him, so far as this world is concerned, life's only real immortality.

To prove that English poetry, of which Donne's is so idiosyncratic an ingredient, is 'now again putting on a new strength 'and beauty,' that we are even perhaps at the beginning of another great poetic age, is the aim of a little anthology, recently published, entitled 'Georgian Poetry.' Some day, if fate smile kindly on the promise of his venture, the initials of its 'onlie begetter,' E. M., may become the nucleus of as animated and academic a controversy as has raged round those of 'William Himself.' 'Georgian Poetry' is a collection of verse drawn entirely from publications of the last two years, and presents the work of writers who, either before 1911 had published nothing, or who have since then gained some accession of power. With the single exception of Mr. Sturge Moore, it excludes poets of established and incontrovertible reputation, and it is dedicated with all gratitude and devotion to Mr. Robert Bridges. That titanic achievement, for instance,

'The Dynasts,' is not here! Upwards of a hundred and seventy names are mentioned in 'The Literary Year-Book' under the heading of poetry. Nor is this list exhaustive. Such writers as Mr. Ralph Hodgson, Mr. Vivian Locke Ellis, and Mr. John Freeman, were eligible for this volume, and no woman's work is included in it. This is only to say that E. M. had ample forces in reserve. A volume which comprises thirty-six poems by seventeen poets who have published between them fifty-five volumes of verse, should be sufficiently representative for his purpose.

If, however, 'Georgian Poetry' is justified of its challenge, what does that justification imply? English poets do not readily marshal themselves into schools, nor strive for anything but a personal cause. Whence comes this unanimous impulse to write (and to publish) poetry in an age of journalism? Has the fountain of Hippocrene suddenly showered wild 'drafts of spray' upon this emerald isle; did Pegasus, a generation ago, venture, wildly treading the green pastures, among the mares? If English poetry is indeed renewing its youth, does the phenomenon imply a promise of even wider significance: the stirring and awakening of the whole national imagination, a widening desire to escape

'from that which sinks each individual man
Into the common dream'?

Hope may falter, though it need not sink, when it is discovered that some of the poets included here must have been practising their art under three rulers. It is nine years since Mr. Sturge Moore published that masterpiece, 'The Rout of the Amazons.' Here we have a further example of an art never content to repeat its first triumphs—the First Scene of the classically pure and ripe 'Sicilian Idyll.' Mr. Masfield, too, has long since proved himself, what need not always imply a contradiction in terms, a 'popular poet.' What some critics would consider the flower of his work appeared in 1902. His 'Biography' is the last of a series of remarkably original and vivid, but somewhat unequal narrative poems. Mr. Chesterton, still happily young in years, is old in fame. Only to this degree is E. M.'s anthology in any sense Victorian.

But in any attempt to appraise this volume with the jealous eyes of posterity not only must we be sure that poetry dis-

tinctly of our own day is here, but some kind of parallel is necessary. What kind of volume, for example, would have been put together by the poets, then under forty and over twenty, who were writing in 1611-12?—Dekker, Browne, Donne, Carew, Beaumont, Drummond, Heywood, Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Fletcher, Quarles—when Shakespeare was forty-eight, Milton was three, and Shirley, Herbert, and Herrick were still in their teens. By 1712 the stage was dark and deserted; Pope and Gay were thirty-four. Another crucial date—skipping the two years of Keats's 'Poems,' of 'Alastor,' 'The Revolt of Islam,' 'Childe Harold,' 'Christabel,' and 'Kubla Khan'—would be 1865-66, when 'Atalanta in Calydon,' 'Enoch Arden,' 'Dramatis Personæ,' 'The Prince's Progress' were published, when Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Dixon, and T. E. Brown were still in their thirties, and Arnold's 'New Poems' may have been in proof. Such comparisons are only comparisons, but as such, searching enough.

Every age unquestionably needs and seeks its own poetry. And, as it has been said of man and woman, every age has bestowed upon it the poetry it deserves—though this is not a genial comment to make on the eighteenth century. But true poetry is never the peculiar possession of any particular race or period. It varies superficially and in differing environments, flags, and is renewed; but in essentials it does not change. As each new poet, then, responds to one of the rarest and deepest of all impulses, he is bound to follow and at the same time slightly to stray from the one clear tradition. As rhythm is to metre, so is his divergence into originality to the poetry of his great predecessors. In every individual poet in this volume, as in its contents as a whole, if its achievement is to justify the claim of its editor, we must look for both of these features. The test, we think, is easily survived. These poets are at least legitimate. A wholesome independence is manifest, together with as wholesome an exuberance and bravado. Their faults are the faults of youth. They have gone 'exploring'; have chosen their own path and filled their hands with wild flowers, many of which by noon-day will have withered and been thrown away. But there is no anarchic challenge of old ideals, no obvious tendency towards any particular *ism*. The general trend of the work is lyrical—with a dramatic under-

current. If Coleridge's assertion, that poets of promise usually choose themes remote from their own personal life, be a sound one, then promise is here in abundance. The range of subject is remarkably wide. Mr. Lascelles Abercrombie, in 'The Sale of St. Thomas,' pictures the saint anxiously setting forth on his legendary mission to Melankara and King Gondophares in world-wide search of a carpenter to build him a satanic palace made of souls. Mr. Gordon Bottomley's poems are entitled 'The End of the World' and 'Babel.' Mr. Flecker contributes 'Joseph and Mary' and the pagan 'Queen's Song'; Mr. Edmund Beale Sargant, the lovely wizard, 'Cuckoo Wood.' Mr. James Stephens roars with joy with Mad Patsy in 'The Poppy-field,' and in 'The Lonely God' returns to the Garden of Eden. Mr. Ronald Ross stands solitary upon a peak in Darien. Mr. Wilfrid Gibson is away in the heather under sunned and starry skies in 'The Hare.' Mr. Robert Trevelyan contributes an exquisitely modulated and tender little dirge. Mr. William Davies flits on the wings of Ariel back to childhood and tells over again a ne'er-do-well mariner's fabulous tales of the sea. Mr. Chesterton sings 'The Song of Elf.' And Mr. Rupert Brooke views existence from the 'cool, curving world' which enshrines 'The Fish,' and lives again 'an immortal moment,' spent in the extremely mortal environment of 'Dining-room Tea.'

If, for all other qualities essential to lyrical poetry—intensity of vision, imagination, architectonicé, metrical craft, economy of means, music and finish—'Georgian Poetry' be compared with such a volume as 'The Oxford Book of English Verse,' the ordeal is drastic but not discouraging. Simple, sensuous, passionate—the old formula is unescapable. And again, viewed roughly as a whole, it is clear that what is more or less undilutely 'Georgian' in this anthology tends less towards simplicity than elaboration and complexity; that it is undeniably sensuous, though it exhibits not less clearly symptoms of genuine 'fundamental brainwork'; and that its passion reveals itself in a desire for beauty, and for a truth, not objectively and consciously moral or philosophic, but imaginative and creative. Those who seek in poetry ethical solace and edification, or demand of it a reasoned criticism of life, are unlikely to be won over. There is a strikingly modern, but none the less poetic, 'moral' to 'The Sale of St. Thomas':

' Now, Thomas, know thy sin. It was not fear ;
 Easily may a man crouch down for fear,
 And yet rise up on firmer knees, and face
 The hailing storm of the world with graver courage.
 But prudence, prudence is the deadly sin. . . .
 Keep thy desire closed in the room of light
 The labouring fires of thy mind have made,
 And thou shalt find the vision of thy spirit
 Pitifully dazzled to so shrunk a ken,
 There are no spacious puissances about it.
 But send desire often forth to scan
 The immense night which is thy greater soul ;
 Knowing the possible, see thou try beyond it
 Into impossible things, unlikely ends ;
 And thou shalt find thy knowledgeable desire
 Grow large as all the regions of thy soul,
 Whose firmament doth cover the whole of Being,
 And of created purpose reach the ends.'

But with the exception of Mr. Drinkwater, whose ' Fires of God ' is a profound questioning of heart, a lofty, somewhat too eloquent, hymn to the glory of the world, to the courage, hope, and aspirations of humanity, the aim of these poets is as alien from that of ' The Prelude ' as it is from that of ' Prometheus Unbound,' of ' Don Juan,' or of the ' Essay on Man.' They borrow inspiration neither from books nor from science, unless it be the science of psychology, or the Proceedings of the Society of Psychical Research ! To express his love, desire, dream, grief or rapture, his sense of an age-long solitude beset by a cloud of witnesses, to bear record, if it may be for a little longer than mortal life permits, to his experience of a strange, absorbing, baffling world, in the briefest and loveliest terms within his power--this alone is every true poet's aim. He may write not always because he can, but should write never unless he must : Noah, after all, did not reject the twittering entreaty of the wren when he welcomed the nightingale to the shadowy roostings of his ark. And since the expression of beauty beats on the mind like a purifying flame, and any lucid imaginative truth of presentation ever bears hidden within it the secret of life, and kindles the desire to possess life more abundantly, from these pages, too, cannot be absent what it would be rather disheartening and restrictive to call their ' lesson.'

There is, at any rate, no attempt to say pretty and acceptable

things; no bait to tickle and catch small fry. 'Muse' and 'lyre' are left hushed and unevoked. The love that rhymes with grove nowhere wastes its sweetness. But in its stead we have the turbulent, arrogant rapture of Mr. Brooke's 'Dust' and 'Town and Country'; the delicate and lucent visionariness of Mr. Harold Monro's 'Child of Dawn'; the dense, brooding desire that in the broken stanzas of Mr. D. H. Lawrence's 'Snapdragon' almost dazes and nauseates the reader with its desperate, naked excess. Page after page of this volume will prove that it is not an unexact standard of thought, feeling, and technique which these writers share. In a word, unquestionable *seriousness*, as distinguished from what another generation rather solemnly and chillingly called 'high seriousness,' is the sincere mark and claim of this anthology.

It is, it may be hoped, only a fine loyalty to the past that induces most historians of English literature to disparage their own times. What student of modern criticism has not been professorially assured that poetry nowadays is 'Every dead thing'? A little enthusiasm for the work of one's contemporaries does no mischief to the secure immortals. 'Georgian Poetry,' even after it has been subjected to the discipline of a sound and conservative criticism, should at least momentarily shake the confidence of such pessimism.

As regards individual poets, space will admit only of the briefest comment and quotation. Mr. James Stephens contributes two poems. It is the conception and atmosphere of 'The Lonely God,' rather than its theme, which give it strength and originality. Mr. Stephens is inclined to allow his Celtic imagination to run away with him, and his verse falls occasionally into the florid and rhetorical. Like many a theologian before him, he has made God in his own image.

'So Eden was deserted, and at eve
Into the quiet place God came to grieve.'

In the still twilight He paces the dews of the garden, brooding on His might and majesty and 'solitude unspeakable,' considering His creation—Man. 'It is not good for man to be 'alone.' In the fruition of time He foresees:

'The perfect woman of his perfect race
Shall sit beside Me in the highest place
And be My Goddess, Queen, Companion, Wife. . . .'

He stoops to the beehive hut wherein Adam and Eve sit happy
and at fearful peace in each other's company, sharing their
common doom. He takes up the dusty garland with which
Eve has been crowned :

‘ So the Mighty Guest
Rent, took, and placed the blossoms in his Breast.
“ This,” said He gently, “ I shall show My queen
When she has grown to Me in space serene,
And say ‘Twas worn by Eve.” So, smiling fair,
He spread abroad His wings upon the air.’

‘ In the Cool of the Evening ’ is a less anthropomorphic
pendant to the longer poem :

‘ I thought I heard Him calling. Did you hear
A sound, a little sound ? My curious ear
Is dinned with flying noises, and the tree
Goes—whisper, whisper, whisper silently
Till all its whispers spread into the sound
Of a dull roar. Lie closer to the ground,
The shade is deep and He may pass us by.
We are so very small, and His great eye,
Customed to starry majesties, may gaze
Too wide to spy us hiding in this maze ;
Ah, misery ! the sun has not yet gone
And we are naked : He will look upon
Our crouching shame, may make us stand upright
Burning in terror—O that it were night !
He may not come . . . what ? listen, listen, now—
He is here ! Lie closer . . . *Adam, where art thou ?* ’

The happiest poetry gains from its readers not only
admiration but a warm and familiar regard for its writer. So
it is with Mr. Davies's work. It is naïf and fresh with a
winning personality. Its art seems to be (yet how can it be ?)
the purest intuition. Mr. Davies loves instinctively all simple
things. He gives us back the eager absorbed eyes of childhood.
Birds never before in verse seem to have hopped down from
line to line ; nor bees to have ‘ stood upon their heads ’ in
pollen, nor the moon

‘ behind the clouds ’ dark bars,
Searched for her stolen flocks of stars,’

when we read of them all in his delightful lyrics. Nothing is
forced. A romantic Elizabethan conceit, a romantic credulity,

slips as naturally into his speech as does the exquisite cadence in the last two lines of his ' Kingfisher ' :

' It was the Rainbow gave thee birth,
And left thee all her lovely hues ;
And, as her mother's name was Tears,
So runs it in thy blood to choose
For haunts the lonely pools, and keep
In company with trees that weep.

' Go you and, with such glorious hues,
Live with proud Peacocks in green parks ;
On lawns as smooth as shining glass,
Let every feather show its marks ;
Get thee on boughs and clap thy wings
Before the windows of proud kings.

' Nay, lovely Bird, thou art not vain ;
Thou hast no proud, ambitious mind ;
I also love a quiet place
That 's green, away from all mankind ;
A lonely pool, and let a tree
Sigh with her bosom over me.'

Mr. Gibson owes nothing to Crabbe or to Goldsmith, but shares their sympathy with those who (like poets) do hard work for small pay. He never rants ; he puts bare things barely. His verse is supple ; its ease, the outcome of craft and labour. ' The Hare ' is full of light, movement, and abandon ; though its supernatural element is symbolically a little over-ingenious. ' Geraniums ' is the shortest, but not least characteristic, of his poems here. ' Broken with lust and drink, blear-eyed ' and ill,' an old woman comes nodding from under her dark arch to sell a nosegay for a night's lodging. And this is how Mr. Gibson escapes a facile moral :

' And yet to-morrow will these blooms be dead
With all their lively beauty ; and to-morrow
May end the light lusts and the heavy sorrow
Of that old body with the nodding head.
The last oath muttered, the last pint drained deep,
She'll sink, as Cleopatra sank, to sleep ;
Nor need to barter blossoms for a bed.'

Reference has already been made to Mr. Abercrombie's ' Sale of St. Thomas.' Flaubert's St. Anthony himself never woke from a dream of more fabulous and sinister bizarrerie, nor Mandeville imagined more exotic marvels, nor Purchas's

pilgrims explored a stranger world than are described in this poem. The verse blazes with radiance, jets, leaps, dins, insinuates with every turn and twist of the narrative. Quaking with the 'huddled man' upon the quay, the reader listens to the cynical Captain's recital of the terror and cruelties that await his timid hyper-imaginative passenger's entry into unknown India, with its flies and apes, its gongs, horns, and enormities. The verse breaks into the wildest fantasy. With a sardonic humour the poet gloats over the pictures that at the same time appal and enthrall him; yet he never loses his grasp. The poem is admirably constructed and kept in tone, and comes to a dramatic and serene conclusion.

There are many influences perceptible in this volume; but that of Donne—Donne in his headlong, rebellious youth—is traceable only in the work of Mr. Rupert Brooke. He is more self-centred than the rest, more analytical and intellectual. He is also more impatient of tradition, defiant of the dictates of poetic Grundyism. His verse keeps unusually close to actual experience and is yet imaginatively in focus. He rails at dull sublunary 'fools,' and, like Mr. Abercrombie, cannot resist the fascination of what repels him. He is at once the youngest and the most promising of his contemporaries. And his are among the curiously few love-poems in the collection. The following extract is from the poem entitled 'Dust':

'When the white flame in us is gone,
And we that lost the world's delight
Stiffen in darkness, left alone
To crumble in our separate night;

'When your swift hair is quiet in death,
And through the lips corruption thrust
Has stilled the labour of my breath—
When we are dust, when we are dust!—

'Not dead, not undesirous yet,
Still sentient, still unsatisfied,
We'll ride the air, and shine, and flit,
Around the places where we died,

'And dance as dust before the sun,
And light of foot, and unconfined,
Hurry from road to road, and run
About the errands of the wind.

'And every mote, on earth or air,
Will speed and gleam, down later days,
And like a secret pilgrim fare
By eager and invisible ways.

'Nor ever rest, nor ever lie,
Till, beyond thinking, out of view,
One mote of all the dust that's I
Shall meet one atom that was you.'

There remains Mr. Gordon Bottomley to be mentioned. Quiet as swiftly falling, drifting, thickening snow is the verse that depicts the cold, dark 'End of the World,' etched in with little familiar pictures of life amidst its desolation:

'The dawn now seemed neglected in the grey
Where mountains were unbuilt, and shadowless trees
Rootlessly paused or hung upon the air . . . '

A gigantic phantom figure strides out of sight,

'But if he seemed too tall to be a man
It was that men had been so long unseen,
Or shapes loom larger through a moving snow.'

Night darkens and darkens; earth and air congeal.

'The air was crumbling. There was no more sky.'

And at last Death himself, flaked with the same dazzling whiteness, enters where love and fear sit half insanelly awaiting the end:

'She said "O, do not sleep,
Heart, heart of mine, keep near me. No, no; sleep.
I will not lift his fallen, quiet eyelids,
Although I know he would awaken then—
He closed them thus but now of his own will.
He can stay with me while I do not lift them."''

It is a poem that absorbs and haunts the imagination. Like 'Babel,' where, daring the solitudes of heaven,

'Man with his bricks was building, building yet,
Where dawn and midnight mingled and woke no birds,'

where Nimroud stands up 'conceiving he shall live to conquer 'god,' and men's tongues crumble into the inarticulate, it transports consciousness clean out of the tangible world. It is the poetry of magic and strangeness; indefinable, inexplicable; the farthest venture beyond the confines of time and space recorded in the pages of 'E. M.'s' anthology.

WALTER DE LA MARE.

THE ROMANCE OF THE SEA DEEPS

1. **The Depths of the Ocean.** A general account of the modern science of Oceanography based largely on the scientific researches of the Norwegian steamer 'Michael Sars' in the North Atlantic. By Sir JOHN MURRAY, K.C.B., F.R.S., etc., of the 'Challenger' Expedition, and Dr. JOHAN HJORT, Director of Norwegian Fisheries. With contributions from Professor A. APPELLÖF, Professor H. H. GRAN, and Dr. B. HELLAND-HANSEN. Macmillan. 1912.
2. **Science of the Sea.** An elementary handbook of Practical Oceanography for travellers, sailors, and yachtsmen. Prepared by The Challenger Society for the Promotion of the Study of Oceanography. Edited by G. HERBERT FOWLER, B.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., etc., sometime Assistant Professor of Zoology, University College, London. With illustrations and charts. Murray. 1912.
3. **Life in the Sea.** By JAMES JOHNSTONE, B.Sc. Fisheries Laboratory, University of Liverpool. Cambridge: University Press. 1911.

THE largest of the three books whose titles appear at the head of this article, and certainly the weightiest (it weighs 3 lbs. 15 oz.), is an account of the voyage of the small steamer, the 'Michael Sars,' outward across the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean, and homeward by a route between Newfoundland and Ireland. Starting from Norway, the 'Michael Sars' made for the Canaries; from the Canaries she sailed to the Azores and thence through the Sargasso Sea to St. John's, Newfoundland, and so back to Glasgow.

All who have taken any interest in the investigation of the sea during the last twelve years will know the 'Michael Sars,' and the work done by her scientific staff in the North Sea. The ship was built by the Norwegian Government in 1900 to undertake researches into the Norwegian fisheries in connexion with the international scheme of North Sea investigation and to study the conditions under which these fisheries exist. She is essentially a first-class fishing trawler, specially fitted for scientific work. Her length is about 120 feet and her gross tonnage 226. Her engines are 300-horse power and can keep up a uniform rate of ten knots; but her coal storage is small, a serious consideration when the Atlantic is to be crossed.

There are many reasons for keeping a research ship of this kind small, not the least being the cost of up-keep, but it was somewhat of an experiment to take so small a vessel for a prolonged ocean trip; yet no one who reads the book above referred to can fail to perceive that the experiment has proved eminently successful. This is in our opinion largely due to the fact that the men of science on board, as well as the crew, were not only exceptionally able men, but were men who thoroughly knew their boat and its capabilities. The list of the scientific staff contains some of the best known names in oceanographic research. Each of them is a master in his own subject, and each is a bold experimenter, and through them new methods and new machinery, which were successfully employed on this Atlantic cruise, have been given to the world.

The greater part of the book is written by Dr. Johan Hjort; but there are contributions by Sir John Murray, Professor Appellöf, Professor Gran, and Dr. Helland-Hansen. The first chapter is largely an abstract of Sir John Murray's able history of oceanographic research that precedes the Summary Volumes of the 'Challenger' Expedition. The abstraction indeed is so complete that little more than a string of names and figures is left, though to some extent the material is brought up to date by the mention of the numerous expeditions which have taken place in the last thirty or forty years. The meagreness of the references to the work done by the steamers belonging to Zoological Stations, such as the 'Huxley,' by the Fishery Board of Scotland with its steamer the 'Gold-seeker,' and by the Irish Fishery Board, is perhaps made good by the recent publication of 'The Biological Stations of Europe,' by Professor Kofoid, under the auspices of the United States Bureau of Education. Sir John Murray's real contribution to the book is an invaluable chapter of some eighty pages, on 'The Depths and Deposits of the Ocean,' illustrated by three beautiful plans. This is an authoritative and adequate presentment of a subject which he has made his own.

The passengers and the crew of a liner racing over the surface of the Atlantic are apt to imagine that under them is a vast layer of water of varying depth sparsely inhabited by a few fish. As a matter of fact the whole of this great ocean is teeming with life. If instead of taking ship we could take to the water and walk across the bed of the Atlantic to America,

starting from the shores of Western Europe, we should in effect be travelling through a succession of new countries. Not only would the surrounding physical conditions vary as we advanced, but the animal and plant life would vary in correlation with the altering physical conditions. We should soon leave behind us the larger seaweeds of our childhood, such as the bladderwrack, and the belt of mussels, barnacles, limpets, periwinkles, dog-whelks and small crustacea, sea-anemones and worms, which for the most part inhabit the sea-beach between the upper and the lower level of the tide. Just about the limit of low water of high spring tides we should encounter a somewhat richer fauna and flora. In place of the bladderwrack we should find *Laminaria*; also blennies, gobies, and other small fish, together with the larger crustacea such as crabs and lobsters, hermit-crabs and prawns. Clams and scallops would also be seen; while the molluscan whelks and horse-mussels would still occur. Worms we should find crawling in and out of crevices and tubes in the sand, sea-urchins resting on the bottom, or:

‘lilting where the laver lingers
The starfish trips on all her fingers.’

Encrusting organisms, such as hydrozoa and polyzoa, are here at work clothing rocks and stones, and shells of other animals. Here too will be found an abundance of brightly coloured sponges, while sea anemones—‘those flowering stomachs’ as George Meredith calls them—will be still as plentiful as in the rock-pools left behind.

The nature of this tract would of course vary with the bottom deposit. The fauna we have described in the main belong to a gravel and stone strewn floor. But much the same progressive change in the animal-life would be found if we set out on our journey along a rocky outspur running into the sea, with this difference: that limpets would be clinging and barnacles anchored to the rocks. Should we start, however, from a flat and sandy shore we should miss the large, sessile seaweeds and find instead numerous lugworms and many of the small crustacea such as the copepods. On the whole the sand supports a poorer fauna, though on the sand the *Zostera*, a vivid green, ribbon-like flowering-plant, gives its name to the next zone we traverse.

Walking further and further towards the depths of the Atlantic we should soon lose all sight of the algæ; and the shallow-water fish, the plaice and sole, whiting, skates, dog-fish and others, and cod, would give way to the megrim and the hake. The sea-floor would gradually change from rock or gravel or stones to sands, and ultimately to mud or oozes of various tints, their original colours often modified by the action of the decomposition of organic particles in them and on them. All these finer deposits are derived from the neighbouring land and are blown seaward by off-shore winds or washed down by rains and streams and carried out to the sea by rivers.

The distance to which fine matter in suspension may be carried is very great. The Congo is said to carry its characteristic mud as far out to sea as 600 miles, and the Ganges and the Indus as far as 1000 miles. Except in the neighbourhood of such great rivers a subaqueous traveller would soon pass beyond what Sir John Murray has called the 'mud-line,' a line that limits the terrigenous deposits everywhere surrounding dry land. Having reached this limit we must proceed warily, for at the mud-line, at an average depth of 100 fathoms, we shall find ourselves at the edge of the *continental shelf*, that rim which extends seaward to a varying distance from all land areas, the rim on which Great Britain rests. Beyond lies the *continental slope*, a precipice more or less abrupt and more or less high, descending by steep declines or terraced cliffs until depths of 2000 fathoms are reached.

The deepest ocean-pit as yet sounded lies in the Pacific. It is 31,614 feet deep, thus surpassing by 2612 feet the height to which Mount Everest rises above the mean ocean level. Roughly speaking, the heights to which the higher mountains rise above sea-level is paralleled by the depths to which the deepest 'deeps' sink below that level. Yet, as has often been pointed out, these inequalities are negligible as compared with the diameter of the earth, and could we shrivel up our globe to the size of an orange, mountain ranges and abysmal depths would be no more prominent than the rugosities of the orange-skin. It may be added that if all the elevations on the earth were removed and filled into all the hollows we should have a world smooth as a billiard-ball and completely surrounded by an

ocean 1450 fathoms deep. This is called the 'mean sphere level.'

The Atlantic has an average depth differing but little from the 'mean sphere level.' Compared with the other great oceans it has an unusually large area of comparatively shallow water. Of its total area 27·5 per cent. is covered by water less than 1000 fathoms deep: 18 per cent. lies between 1000 and 2000 fathoms: and 47 per cent. between 2000 and 3000 fathoms; the remaining 7·5 per cent. is still deeper.

At the foot of the continental slope lies an illimitable plain, of a uniform dull, greyish-buff colour, flat and featureless as the desert, and only diversified by an occasional as yet uncovered rock or wreck or the straight line of a recently laid cable. This plain continues with hardly a change in scenery or in level until we approach the great mid-Atlantic ridge. As Bruce has shown, this ridge, which roughly bisects the Atlantic, extends from Iceland as far south as 53° of south latitude, with a slight and quite inexplicable break just under the equator. The ridge runs almost parallel with the eastern contour of North and South America, which in turn, as the ordinary map will show, roughly corresponds with the western contour of Europe and Africa. From time to time the ridge rises above the surface of the water, as in the Azores group, St. Paul's Rocks, Ascension, Tristan da Cunha, and Gough Island.

Having ascended the eastern and descended the western slope of this mid-Atlantic ridge, we should again traverse plains of greyish ooze far more extensive than any level land tract known to geographers, and as we approached the American coast we should gradually pass through, in reverse order, the zones of life traversed when leaving Europe. On the eastern coast of America the slope is much more gradual than on the western coast of Southern Europe and Africa. Moreover the terrigenous deposits of North America extend further to sea. This is mainly due to the fact that the winds of the North American coast are as a rule off-shore, whereas those of the Old World are mostly on-shore. It is common knowledge that our 'weather' comes from the west. Here and there on the wearisome, monotonous scene we have mentally traversed would be seen half-immersed in the ooze some yet uncovered rock or stone dropped by a passing iceberg, or a piece of pumice thrown out by some volcano, which after floating about

on the surface for a time has become water-logged and dropped to the bottom ; or, again, the wreckage of men's ships :

' The wrecks dissolve above us : their dust drops down from afar—

Down to the dark, to the utter dark, where the blind white sea-snakes are,'

or the bones and skeletons of whales and fishes and sea-birds lie awaiting burial by the ceaselessly falling Foraminifera. For if we examine a specimen of the ooze just described we shall find it consists of countless millions of small, microscopic, chalky shells, the innumerable homes of unnumbered unicellular animals, which, when alive, floated on the surface of the ocean. The great mass of these belong to the group of Foraminifera, microscopic animals which have the power of secreting calcium carbonate from the sea-water and building it up into shells of many chambers. These shells compacted together form the white cliffs of our coasts and the chalk downs of our southern coasts. Foraminifera are capable of extraordinarily rapid reproduction, and at times the surface of the sea is almost packed with them. No less than 22,500,000 square miles of the Atlantic bed is covered with the shells of these organisms. Some twenty kinds have been classified. The commonest genus amongst them is the *Globigerina*, and hence the deposit itself is known as *Globigerina* ooze. At what rate the deposits thicken we do not know, but those whose business it is to lay marine cables have evidence that in some places about one inch is deposited in ten years. Like other unicellular, floating organisms, Foraminifera are kept floating whilst alive by the secretion of either air-bubbles or oil-globules lighter than water. When the animals die the floats cease to act and their bodies sink slowly down in a never-ceasing rain of marine dust, covering and obliterating inequalities on the ocean floor, and clothing the sea-bottom with a mantle of monotony.

These monotonous plains, which Kipling has called

' The great grey level plains of ooze,'

are as a rule at a depth of about 2000 to 3000 fathoms : only in a very few places does the Atlantic bottom sink over 3000 fathoms below the level of the ocean surface.

While the main area of the Atlantic is covered by the

Globigerina ooze, there are a few small tracts off the western coast of northern Africa and around the Azores where this deposit is replaced by the shells of certain floating or pelagic molluscs known as Pteropods. Again there are comparatively large tracts, one forming a wide and irregular ring round the Bermudas, another an irregular patch to the west of the Canaries, in which Red Clay takes the place of *Globigerina* ooze. Red Clay is much more abundant in the Pacific ocean and is probably the most widely distributed of all deep-sea deposits. Usually of a reddish colour, at times it passes into a dark chocolate hue due to the presence of a number of small grains of pyroxide of manganese. As a rule red clay contains little or no calcareous shell matter, but flinty or siliceous organisms, sponge-spicules or the skeletons of Radiolaria or of Diatomes are often to be found in it. The most constant of its inorganic elements are pumice in all stages of disintegration, and oxides of iron and manganese nodules. These, either as minute granules or as secretions round other remains, not infrequently attain the size of marbles.

In certain circumstances, and if exposed for long periods of time, the thin calcareous shells of the Foraminifera are soluble in sea-water, and thus it comes about that at a depth of some 2500 fathoms the *Globigerina* shells are dissolved and so never reach the bottom. In their place we find at depths, say below 3000 fathoms, the bed of the sea covered either with volcanic material, or with flinty Radiolaria skeletons, or, still more rarely, with a Diatome ooze also siliceous. Like the Foraminifera, the Radiolaria are unicellular organisms buoyed up by floats of various kinds on the surface of the sea. But instead of secreting a skeleton of carbonate of lime, their skeleton is composed, like that of many sponges, of spicules of flint or silica. This substance is much less soluble in water than chalk, and consequently radiolarian ooze covers a considerable area of the sea bottom in the very deep waters of both the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The second siliceous deposit is distinguished by the predominance of the skeletons of the lowly forms of plant life, the Diatomes. This deposit is particularly associated with a band across the north of the Pacific and a great girdle round the Antarctic land.

In describing this imaginary journey across the ocean bed we have spoken of the things we should 'see'; but in reality

we should see nothing at all unless we were gifted with the power of seeing in the uttermost darkness. At the bottom of the Atlantic a darkness prevails with which the blackest night on land would seem comparatively twilight. No ray of sun or moon can pierce through anything like 2000 fathoms of water, and the only light ever seen at these great depths is due to the phosphorescence of certain of the deep-sea organisms. How far this phosphorescence is visible is still a matter about which we want more knowledge. We know that these luminiferous organs vary immensely in complexity and in power. Many of the lower light-givers (Invertebrates) secrete a luminous mucus or slime, but others, especially the fish, have very highly organised luminiferous organs as complex as eyes, and these are segmentally situate, so that in walking across the ocean bed we should from time to time see a blurred glare at our feet, like an ineffective lamp in a London fog, and from time to time a fish would pass gleaming from prow to stern with rows of lights like a miniature liner with her port-holes all aglow.

The poet has told us that

‘The sun’s perpendicular rays
Illumine the depths of the sea.’

But the poet is only partially right; the sun’s rays do not really reach the depths. Till the transatlantic voyage of the ‘Michael Sars,’ the limit to which light penetrated the ocean water was generally thought to be at about 300 fathoms. But Dr. Helland-Hansen, the author of the illuminative chapter on Physical Oceanography, has devised a new and more perfect photometer than any that has hitherto been used at great depths. At its very first trial, near the Sargasso Sea, the apparatus acted perfectly. As far down as 500 fathoms the photometer registered light, and in considerable quantities; but at a depth of roughly 850 fathoms the most highly sensitive photographic plates were unaffected even after an exposure of two hours. This apparatus is figured on p. 249 of the volume and is obviously a great advance upon anything that has hitherto been devised. Very sensitive pan-chromatic plates were used, and the result of the experiments made at noon on the 6th of January 1910, with a clear sky, ‘show that a good deal of light penetrates

'to a depth of 1000 metres—considerably deeper than was 'previously supposed.' At 50 fathoms the rays were of all colours, though red rays were beginning to fade out; at this depth the red rays were in fact fewer in number than the green; blue and ultra-violet rays already predominated. At 250 fathoms the effect of the red and green rays was imperceptible even after a long exposure of plates especially prepared to register them. The ultra-violet and the blue rays are those which penetrate deepest. These records correspond closely with the observations of Hermann Foll in his diving expeditions in the Mediterranean. At a depth of 15 fathoms dark red animals looked to him quite black, whilst the green and blue-green algæ appeared lighter in colour. A coloured object of course looks black when untouched by rays of its own colour. In accord with this absence of red rays below 250 fathoms we find a very large number of crustacea, some of them of considerable size, and all of a most brilliant red colour—scarlet as a boiled lobster—swimming about in the seas just below the lower limit of the penetration of the red rays. As a rule, however, in this region the fish are black in colour, though closely allied species of the same genus, variegated and light in hue, are swimming about in the upper waters.

Not only is there no light, but there is no sound at the bottom of the sea except for the rare explosion of a submarine volcano, and even when that occurs the noise must be somewhat muffled:

'There is no sound, no echo of sound, in the deserts of the deep.'

Down there all is dark, and all is silent. It is also persistently cold. The temperature of even the surface waters of the sea varies comparatively little compared with the fluctuations of heat and cold on land. On land, temperatures as low as -90° C. and as high as 65° C. have been registered, showing a range of 155° C. At sea the range is only 33.8° C., lying between -2.8° C. and 31° C. As a rule at the bottom of the deep sea there is a uniform low temperature. Whether in the Tropics or in the Polar regions the bottom of the ocean registers a temperature of between 2° C. and zero, though in many places it falls below the freezing point of fresh water.

These cold waters are, further, very still; at the bottom of

the ocean there is a great calm. The waves that churn the surface overhead are unfelt at the depth of a few fathoms ; even the great surface currents which stream along the upper waters of the ocean are hardly perceptible below some 200 fathoms. There are of course—as the wear and tear of cables teach us—places where deep-sea currents are strong ; but on the whole the abysses of the sea are cold, noiseless, and motionless. The monotony of the surroundings is increased by the fact that no diurnal or seasonal change reaches those great depths. Summer and winter, spring and autumn, are to them unknown ; for them there is no such thing as night and day, seed-time or harvest. Probably the inhabitants of these abysses breed all the year round, as land-forms do in the tropics. There we find insects and other animals showing no seasonal change of life, eggs, larvæ, chrysalises, imagoes all existing at one and the same time.

Deep-sea animals live at a tremendous pressure. Every five fathoms we descend in the sea the pressure increases by one atmosphere, and at a depth of 3000 fathoms the pressure on each square inch of the body of an animal amounts to three tons, whereas at the surface of the waters it is about fifteen pounds. So great is this pressure that unless special precautions are taken the glass of the thermometers which measure the bottom temperatures is crushed to powder.

It used to be thought that the depths of the sea were uninhabitable, and then again it was thought that could we explore them they would reveal animals known hitherto only as fossils, or perhaps indeed some strange creatures which would come into no class or subdivision of our modern zoological classifications. Neither of these conjectures has proved to be correct. The bottom of the sea is fairly well populated, and, with one or two not very striking exceptions, its exploration has revealed no persistent fossil-types and certainly no forms which do not readily fall into existing zoological systems. But the conditions which we have attempted to depict undoubtedly have had a great influence on the structure of the deep-sea animals. Many of them have retained and others have acquired a radial symmetry, and, planted as many of them are in the semi-fluid ooze exposed to a ceaseless shower of Foraminifera, they have acquired a certain 'stalkiness.' This 'stalkiness' is shown by many of the *cœlenterates* and the

sponges, by tunicates, and above all by the stalked sea-lilies. Animals with legs and tentacles have in the depths developed longer legs and longer tentacles. In fact the tentacles are many times the length of the body, and stretch out through the water in all directions, acting in the place of eyes. In the fishes certain of the fin-rays are prolonged and, like the barbels and tentacles, act as sensitive outposts. Many deep-sea animals have become sightless; others, as they approach the bottom, develop larger and more efficient eyes, sometimes standing out from their heads like binoculars, or even borne on the ends of stalks, as is the case in some of the eight-armed cephalopods, and the larvæ of certain fishes.

Many of the fish are black, and what is more remarkable, they are dark inside as well as out. The cavity of the mouth and that of the body are alike lined by tissues of the blackest hue. Others are almost transparent, and indeed one can easily read print through the body of a *Leptocephalus*, the larva of the common eel, which is so transparent that one would not be able to see it in a dish but for the presence of pigment in its eyes. But these larvæ pass up to the surface at a very early stage, and their transparency may be due to the fact that they are destined to a surface life. Many other forms are, however, very gorgeously coloured, and yet as far as we know 'their glory is concealed,' for there is no light and often no eye to note the brilliant blues—the oranges, the greens and reds, the violets and purples—which deck their bodies. Perhaps it may be connected with the temperature at which they live that they show a marked inability to secrete calcareous skeletons: the bones of deep-sea fishes are curiously soft and their scales thin. Their bodies, or muscles, have lost the usual elasticity, and when one pinches a hake, as when one pinches a patient suffering from beri-beri, the mark of the finger and thumb persists. Even the deep-sea sea-urchins present but a soft skeleton, the carapace of the crustacea becomes chitinous, and the shells of the mollusca thin and translucent. Calcareous sponges have not been found in the depths. The exact reason for this deficiency in the power of depositing lime is obscure. It is certainly not due to a lack of material dissolved in the surrounding waters; but it is curious to remark that animals with a flinty skeleton seem to show an increased power of secreting silica in deep-sea waters. Another unexplained

peculiarity of deep-sea animals is their tendency to reduce the size of their breathing apparatus. The gills are reduced in number and in size, and in some cases have almost disappeared. There is also a great tendency amongst deep-sea organisms to produce spines and processes—a fact which is recorded over and over again in the specific names which systematists have applied to deep-sea forms.

One of the most novel experiments carried on by the 'Michael Sars' was measuring, at varying depths, the actual velocity and strength of the current which passes in and out of the Straits of Gibraltar. By the use of Ekman's Current-meter, Dr. Helland-Hansen was enabled to add very largely to our knowledge of the rate at which the upper water sweeps eastward from the Atlantic into the Mediterranean, and the deeper waters sweep west. Hourly variation was very marked, and at times even the upper current went westwards. These variations appear to coincide with certain tidal movements.

Another remarkable feature of the Atlantic cruise was the number of nets and trawls the 'Michael Sars' was able to keep out at once. Sometimes as many as seven or eight or even ten were dragging through the water at different levels on the same line. In this way very large collections were made at certain determined horizons, and these are now being worked out and will be published in full under the auspices of the Bergen Museum. It is interesting to note that the 'Michael Sars' in its numerous dredgings found that the contents of the nets were, on the whole, practically identical in character when the nets were set at constant depths. Down to 75 fathoms there were small colourless fish of many species, fish eggs of many sizes, and larval eels in several stages of growth. These were accompanied by a series of transparent invertebrates of the usual pelagic type. From 150 down to 250 fathoms small silvery fish with telescopic eyes, beautiful to look at but feeble swimmers, drifting hither and thither in the waters, were taken. But perhaps the most numerous of all fishes was a grey *Cyclothone*; and here too were found a number of red crustacea. Between 500 fathoms and 1000 fathoms the grey *Cyclothone* was replaced by a completely black but closely allied species; red prawns were still in abundance, and, what is more remarkable, red Chætonoths and red Nemertines, and there were also numerous species of black fishes and many

dark brown medusæ. In these deeper hauls many animals of great rarity were taken: for instance, the little-known Cephalopod *Spirula* and a species of *Melanocetus*, the type of which was only discovered the other day in the Indian Ocean. Other fish were also taken which had hitherto been found only in the Indian or Pacific Oceans.

One of the triumphs of this expedition was to extend still further the brilliant researches of the Dane, Schmidt, into the obscure life-history of the common eel, supported as they had been by certain finds of the Irish Fishery Board. The 'Michael Sars' captured younger stages of the larva (Leptocephalus) than had hitherto been taken; in fact specimens between one and two centimetres in length. These were found south of the Azores, and Hjort says he presumes 'that this peculiar distribution can only be explained by supposing that the eel spawns south of the Azores and that the eggs and larvæ pass through their early stages there, being later carried into the North Atlantic and towards the coast of northern Europe by the Gulf Stream.'

Although as a general rule the deep-sea forms tend to run rather small, there are exceptions to this, especially in the Polar regions. There we find certain Isopod Crustacea, represented on land by the wood-louse and on our shores by small forms barely an inch long, growing to the size of crayfish or lobsters; while very large pteropods, a group of floating mollusca, which at the surface seldom surpass an inch or two in length, have at great depths been taken over two feet long. Again, a remarkable *Appendicularia*, usually quite tiny, attains at great depths five inches in length with a noto-chord as big as a lamprey's. Many of these larger forms are found in the Polar areas, and not only within the Arctic and Antarctic circles do the deep-sea forms surpass their shallow-water relatives in size, but the bottom fauna in these areas is peculiarly rich both in the number of species and in the number of specimens.

Animals which live at the sea-bottom, or on the shore or at moderate depths on the continental shelf, so long as they are embedded in the ooze, or attached to stones or burrowing in the mud, or lying on the ground with feeble or no power of locomotion, are known to students of the sea as BENTHOS. Another category of animals, and a very important one, is the

PLANKTON. The Plankton comprises all animals that *drift*. They may have organs of locomotion, but their powers of movement are entirely insignificant compared with the currents which sweep them along. Few of the smaller ones, swimming as hard as they can, progress more than a few inches a day, and yet, in comparison with their bulk, their locomotor organs are really moving them along as fast as the legs of a cantering pony. Planktonic animals are, however, readily moved by the waves, by the wind, by the tide, but they have little control over their translocation. Now a great deal of the Plankton is confined to the surface of the sea, and here if we examine the fauna we shall find innumerable animals of very various kinds. We have first of all a large part of the Plankton consisting of such organism as *Sagitta*, many marine worms, tunicates, small crustacea such as copepods—some of them as brilliant in coloration and design as any firework—many jelly-fishes, certain molluscs, and a few fish. But most important of all the members of the permanent Plankton are the protozoa and the minute algæ which swarm on the surface of the sea.

These algæ are the source of all life in the sea. They alone are capable, in the sunlight, of building up organic compounds out of the inorganic matter around them, and on them the whole of the marine fauna, from whales to the microscopic, unicellular protozoa, whether floating on the surface or living in the abyss, ultimately depend for their food supply.

Then we have a second group of surface Plankton which is composed of the larval-stages of fishes, molluscs, star-fishes, sea-urchins, crustacea, worms, and many other groups. No matter where these animals lay their eggs, their larvæ as a rule float to the surface of the water and there drift hither and thither in incredible numbers. When one recalls the fact that the Right-whale (*Balaena*), often fifty feet long, and one of the largest agglomerations of flesh—or protoplasm—is nurtured on the drifting floating organisms, one appreciates the fact that the Plankton forms indeed a very large feature in the life of the sea.

One of the most interesting contributions that the 'Michael Sars' has made to our knowledge of this surface fauna is by Dr. Gran. He is responsible for a comprehensive chapter on the Phyto-plankton or the drifting plant-life of the sea. Careful

microscopic examination of the bottom of the sea revealed a long time ago certain calcareous rods and plates known as rhabdospheres and coccospheres, little calcareous bodies belonging to microscopic organisms. Systematically these skeletons belonged to organisms on the border-line between animals and plants, and these organisms are so minute that they are only occasionally caught by the finest-meshed nets that sweep the surface of the sea. So minute are they, that to separate them from the sea-water we have to use either an ultra-fine filter or an apparatus known as the centrifuge, which, whirling round at a great rate, is able to drive the solid matter suspended in the water to the furthest limits of the bottom of two rotating test-tubes. In the 'Science of the Sea' it is stated that 'only the waters of the Mediterranean have been investigated for these forms by methods other than the ordinary tow-nets: it would be of great interest to discover their distribution in oceanic waters generally.' This Dr. Gran has done.

On the 'Challenger' Sir John Murray used to obtain these microscopic creatures, now known as the Coccolithophoridæ, by allowing a glass of sea-water to stand for some hours, when the organisms sank and attached themselves to fine threads placed at the bottom of the tumbler. As we have seen on more than one occasion, organisms of the minutest size have been also discovered by examining Nature's own filter, the pharynx or stomach of the Salps which float about in the surface waters. The Coccolithophoridæ appear to be abundant in the open ocean of the tropical and sub-tropical waters, but they become rare at temperatures below 45° F. They exhibit a great variety of external forms. And, as Dr. Gran writes, notwithstanding their small dimensions these microscopic calcareous creatures occupy a very important place in the economy of the sea, and their shields of lime, which may be met with in geological deposits dating as far back as the Cambrian period, show that they have retained their shape practically unaltered through immeasurable ages.

They are almost entirely oceanic and mostly belong to the warmer seas. In coastal waters, where the salinity is lower, they are scarcer, but the commonest species, the little *Pontosphæra huxleyi*, has been found even in the Baltic, and there in such immense quantities (five to six million organisms per litre) that the calcareous cells with

their strong refraction gave a milky appearance to the waters of the inner parts of the Christiania fiords during the hot summer of 1911. Dr. Gran carried on his investigations on these forms from the Canaries to Newfoundland, and thence across to the Irish coast, and as a result he came to the conclusion that these very minute organisms, which pass with ease through the meshes of the finest silk nets, are far more abundant than any others in the open sea, whilst the larger Diatomes and the Peridineæ appear comparatively scanty in numbers although rich in species.

Dr. Gran made very careful investigations as to the depths to which the surface algæ sink, the algæ which are the ultimate food supply for all the fauna of the sea. Samples were regularly taken from the surface and at depths of 10, 25, 37½, and 50 fathoms below the sea level. At depths greater than 50 fathoms algal life was extremely scanty. The maximum algal life appears to lie somewhere about 25 fathoms, which corresponds with what Lohmann had found to be the case with the Mediterranean Coccolithophoridæ. This further corresponds with Schimper's observations made in the Antarctic during the 'Valdivia' expedition. He found that the maximum of algal life lay between 20 and 30 fathoms, that it totally disappeared below 100 fathoms, and that the great bulk lay above the 50-fathom level.

It has been observed by Hansen that plants in the sea are often so rare that it is difficult to understand how the animals can get enough nourishment, and yet the green, and as a rule microscopic, algæ have to produce enough food to support every single marine animal from the surface down to the deepest abyss. Hansen worked largely with vertical tow-nets, through whose meshes these minute Coccolithophoridæ passed with ease. But taking everything into consideration, one would not feel very happy about one's food supply if one were a marine animal, and thoroughly understood the economics of the ocean. The margin would strike one as very small.

Lohmann has studied, with the greatest minuteness and care, the quantities of all the Plankton organisms in Kiel Bay throughout a year, and he has calculated the volume of the various groups in the Plankton in the different water masses of this area at all seasons. In the winter months the algæ seem easily outnumbered by the animals, and from

December to February they scarcely form a third of the total Plankton, the floating and drifting living organisms. In the summer months, however, they preponderate and make up sometimes as much as 75 per cent. of the total. He calculates that the plants *on an average* make up 56 per cent. and the animals 44 per cent. of the total drifting organisms in these regions—really not a very large margin of safety for animals.

It should perhaps be mentioned that much of this floating Plankton is, like the abysmal fauna, highly phosphorescent and is indeed the phosphorescence with which we are all familiar. It was surface phosphorescence that the ever-observant Pepys noticed when he described the 'strange nature of the sea-water' on a dark night that it seemed like fire upon every stroke of 'the oar.'

Between the floating Plankton on the surface and the inert Benthos at the base of the ocean, be it shallow or deep, are a number of actively swimming organisms—mostly fish, but also cuttlefish, whales, seals, dolphins and porpoises, crustacea, a few worms and medusæ, and a certain number of members of less well-known groups. These forms are capable of swimming strongly and making headway against effective currents or tides and are collectively known as NEKTON. They not only traverse wide stretches of water in the same horizon, but they are capable of descending and ascending vertically, and no doubt at times many of them form substantial additions to the larder of the animals living at the bottom.

During the last meeting of the British Association, which was held at Dundee, a discussion took place about life and the origin of life. Many learned professors expressed their opinions, but nobody seemed very successful in defining life. As far as one who was not there can form an opinion from the reports of the discussions, most of the authorities 'came out by that 'same door where in they went.'

It is not easy to define life—in fact, it has not yet been done. We can only describe life by enumerating the attributes of living matter, and there is one attribute which is rather apt to be overlooked and may have been overlooked at Dundee. This is rhythm. Living matter is rhythmic. From the contractile vacuole of the *amœba* to the heart of man there is a definite repetition of action at more or less definite

intervals, and there is, as Mr. Johnstone has so ably pointed out in his 'Life in the Sea,' a rhythm in the ocean.

There is a rhythm of the tide, a rhythm which corresponds with the rise and fall about twice every twenty-four hours, and that is involved in a still bigger fortnightly rhythm corresponding with the full and the new moon ; for about half-way between these two phases the tide rises more slowly and to a lower height ; and again, just as there is a half-daily and a half-monthly rhythm, so we have a half-yearly rhythm in the vernal and autumnal equinoxes. So regular are these rhythms that the tide is calculated years in advance, for all parts of the world, and navigators rely trustfully on these calculations, which are not found wanting.

This rhythmical change has impressed itself upon many marine organisms. As Mr. Johnstone reminds us, to keep cockles healthy in aquaria under artificial conditions one must run the water off the tank at least once a day so as to simulate a low tide. *Convoluta*—a small and lowly worm—which lives on the sand and burrows beneath it when the tide is ebbing off the beach, kept in a laboratory in vessels of sea-water, periodically burrows under the artificial sand at the bottom of the vessel when the real tide is normally going out. The phosphorescence of the surface organisms which we have noticed above only comes into play at best some time after sunset. If these surface organisms capable of producing phosphorescence be kept in an aquarium in a dark room the same remains true. Although they are exposed to no secular change of light and darkness, they only show their lights at a time when the outside world is dark. The same is true, as Gamble and Keble have shown, with the chamæleon-shrimp, which in the sea shows a variety of protective colouring during the daytime but at night becomes a transparent blue. Hence it is obvious that the tide has produced an effect which is lasting on certain organisms even when they have been removed from their natural surroundings and from the tidal influence for considerable periods.

Then again we have a rhythmical change of temperature, which is fairly constant for given places in the sea. About February and March the sea is at its coldest, but it gradually warms up until in August it attains its highest normal temperature. Of course in all these rhythms there are many disturbing

features, such as the weather. But these can fairly easily be discounted. Just as we have an annual rise and fall of temperature, so do we have a daily one, the temperature being at its lowest about sunrise, and gradually rising till about the middle of the afternoon. And again, there is a fortnightly rhythm, inasmuch as near the land the sea is warmer in the summer just after the time of new or full moon, and colder at the same periods during the winter.

Other rhythms might be pointed out, such as those dependent on the intensity of sunlight, and on the degree of salinity, which in turn depends to a very large extent on the water circulation of the sea. The pulsing-up of the Gulf Stream is the direct result of this circulation and affects not only the warmth but the salinity of the waters on our western shores. 'The water is saltiest when the drift is strongest, in the months of February to June, and is less salt when the drift is weakest, in the months of November to February.' All these features have a profound influence on the life of the ocean; and a remote influence on land animals whose ancestry was marine.

In the foregoing examination of life in the sea we have not discriminated too closely between the three books whose titles appear at the head of the article. It is but justice, however, to state that the 'Science of the Sea' under the critical editorship of Dr. Fowler is a most able guide-book to any yachtsman, or any naval officer, who may be able to add something to our knowledge of the ocean. Dr. Fowler—aided by many collaborators—clearly and simply explains how the work should be done. We are fortunate in these islands in having many who will follow the path he indicates. The little book 'Life in the Sea,' by Mr. J. Johnstone, though short, has an importance no less than its bulkier rivals. Not only does the author write as an expert, one whose life has been spent in the matters he expounds, but he writes, as he ever does, with a singular grace of style and with a philosophical outlook which is all too rare in marine—and other—zoologists.

A. E. SHIPLEY.

PREHISTORIC ART

1. **Les Cavernes de la Région Cantabrique.** Par H. ALCALDE DEL RIO, L'ABBÉ H. BREUIL, et LE PÈRE L. SIERRA. Planches et figures par H. BREUIL. Monaco. 1912.
2. **La Caverne de Font de Gaume aux Eyzies (Dordogne).** Par L. CAPITAN, L'ABBÉ H. BREUIL, et D. PEYRONY. Planches et figures par H. BREUIL. Monaco. 1910.
3. **L'Art pendant l'Âge du Renne.** Par EDOUARD PIETTE. Album de cent planches par J. PILLOY. Paris. 1907.
4. **La Caverne d'Altamira, à Santillane, près Santander.** Par E. CARTAILHAC et L'ABBÉ H. BREUIL. Planches et figures par H. BREUIL. Monaco. 1906.
5. **Reliquiae Aquitanicae.** By E. LARTET and H. CHRISTY. Edited by T. RUPERT JONES. 1865-75.

JUST half a century has elapsed since the distinguished antiquaries, Lartet and Christy, began those explorations on the banks of the river Vézère in the Dordogne which resulted in their epoch-making discoveries. In the floors of caves and rock-shelters they found evidence that these refuges had been used by man as places of abode in a long-distant past when he was unacquainted with metals, pottery, agriculture, and domestic animals, and was a hunter pure and simple. But what aroused the greatest interest were engravings of animal forms on bone, horn, and ivory, sometimes executed with such life and realism as to excite astonishment and admiration. Amongst these primeval works of art were sketches of the ibex, horse, reindeer, stag, and mammoth. Subsequent investigations elsewhere in southern France, and in other parts of Europe, have revealed the fact that these prehistoric hunters were not only clever draughtsmen and engravers, but also good carvers in horn and ivory; excellent sculptures of animals, both in relief and in the round, having been discovered in several different places. These ancient artists, both as engravers and sculptors, confined their attention chiefly to the animal life around them; representations of the human form are comparatively rare, and for the most part inferior in execution. As regards engraving this is especially the case, the drawings of man himself being usually grotesque.

In sculpture, although only a few specimens, and those mostly fragmentary, have been recovered, yet there are indications of much better work, and evidence of at least good modelling.

Our knowledge of this human sculpture is chiefly due to the discoveries of the late M. Edouard Piette, whose long investigation and untiring exposition of prehistoric art are commemorated in the splendidly illustrated posthumous volume, 'L'Art pendant l'Âge du Renne.' Among other discoveries M. Piette found the remains of seven statuettes in the Grotte du Pape at Brassempouy in the Landes, and another in the cavern of Mas d'Azil in Ariège. The last-named is a statuette of a woman and is of peculiar interest because it shows all the main facial features. It is carved out of the tooth of an equine animal, and suffers thereby, for the hardness and intractability of the enamel forced the artist to use the conically-shaped root for his purpose. M. Piette believed this figurin to be intact as it left the hand of the sculptor. The forehead is high and takes up about a third of the face. The nose is large and prominent, the lips thick, the upper overlapping the lower, the chin retreating and the cheek-bones slightly prominent. The ears are large and the breasts long and pendent. But the most interesting of all the statuettes discovered by M. Piette is undoubtedly one of those found at Brassempouy and termed by him *à la capuche*, from its abundant head of hair recalling a well-known Egyptian head-dress. Like all the other figurins from the same source, this statuette is carved in ivory, and is singularly well preserved owing to its having been protected from water by an overlying hearth of compact clay. The face is triangularly shaped with pointed and prominent chin. There are marked superciliary arches and the nose is long, straight, and narrow. This figurin is more suggestive of a portrait than any other yet discovered in the caves. If really so intended, it is the earliest known attempt at human portraiture by prehistoric man.

Recently in the valley of the Beune in the Dordogne surprising discoveries have been made of relief sculptures in stone which there are grounds for believing are of the palæolithic period. On exposed rock surfaces several horses are thus represented in relief. One figure, almost life size, is a remarkable work of art, the head and body being most

admirably modelled. In a rock-shelter in the same district are no fewer than four bas-reliefs in limestone of the human body. One is a cleverly carved figure, 18 inches high, of a woman holding in her uplifted right hand a horn. The head of another is worked in such a manner as to recall the head-dress of the statuette *à la capuche*.

One conclusion arrived at by M. Piette is of considerable interest, and worthy of attention from its bearing on the vexed question of the order in evolution of the representative arts. As a result of his unrivalled knowledge of the details of palæolithic art he formed the opinion that Sculpture preceded Engraving. The plausibility of this view is apparent when we consider the life led by prehistoric man. The palæolithic hunter must at a very early date have found uses for the bones of the animals he killed. The fractured bones themselves (so constantly found broken in the caves to extract the marrow) would occasionally be of a shape suitable for service as rough tools or weapons. He would then by slight working improve them in this respect. Thus would arise, at a very early stage, carving in its simplest form. Efforts to make his implements more effective would improve his skill, and develop the art. From fashioning them in bone, horn or ivory, it would be no great step to endeavour to copy in the same materials other objects, and finally, as his ability improved, to carve them into the forms of the animals around him. Sculpture might thus well arise almost of necessity out of the conditions of the prehistoric hunter's life.

The similarity between these prehistoric engravings in the French caves and the engraved work seen on the tools and weapons of the Eskimo was recognised at the time of their discovery. It was also known, though the fact had not then attracted much attention, that some primitive hunting tribes, like the Bushmen of South Africa and the Australian aborigines, decorated caves with engravings and paintings of animals. Yet curiously enough it never seems to have occurred to the early explorers of the French caves to expect to find on their walls any evidence of the practice by prehistoric man of pictorial arts similar to those pursued by his modern analogues in South Africa and Australia. Not only so, but some of the most expert investigators were quite incredulous as to the exist-

ence of such artistic productions when they were first discovered. A cave near Santander in north-west Spain, now known to fame as Altamira à Santillane, was explored in 1879 by M. S. de Santuola, who noticed paintings on the walls. He was so impressed with the discovery that he not only carefully examined these pictorial designs but published an illustrated account of them in the following year.

His publication was received with almost complete incredulity as to the antiquity of the paintings. Among his critics was M. Cartailhac, whose name has since been so closely associated with investigations of this phase of palæolithic art. As a result of this cold and sceptical reception M. de Santuola's discoveries were almost forgotten until 1895. In that year M. Rivière discovered on the walls of a cave near the village of La Mouthe, not far from Les Eyzies, engravings and paintings of animals among which were the bison, horse, reindeer, and mammoth, the last-named sufficiently faithful to leave little doubt of the artist having seen it alive. This fact together with the condition of the cave pointed to its wall decoration being of palæolithic age. Attention was naturally recalled to Altamira, which before long was visited by M. Cartailhac. From observations then made and subsequent very careful examination of the paintings M. Cartailhac was convinced of their great antiquity and completely cured of his previous scepticism. Not only has he very handsomely apologised for his former attitude, but he has shown his desire to convince the world at large by publishing, with the assistance of M. l'Abbé H. Breuil, who so happily unites enthusiasm for the study of the prehistoric past with artistic talent, the handsome and finely illustrated volume, 'La Caverne d'Altamira.'

The significance of these early mural decorations being now appreciated, careful examination of the walls of many other caves was undertaken with a view to discovering similar engravings and paintings. Success beyond expectation has rewarded these explorations. Numbers of caves with walls thus ornamented are now known. Roughly speaking, they are situated in three districts: the Dordogne, the northern flank of the Pyrenees south of Toulouse, and in north-west Spain, in the neighbourhood of Altamira. During the last few years, however, so many discoveries of rock

engravings and paintings have been made over such a wide area in Spain that it is no longer possible to speak of the north-west of that country as being peculiar in possessing these interesting works of art.

To return to Altamira. The cavern, roughly zig-zag in shape, is 280 metres long. The paintings are found principally in one place, viz. on the roof of a chamber not far from the entrance. Here is a fresco composed of more than a score of animal figures, mostly of the bison, in polychrome, the colours employed being black, yellow, brown, and above all red of many shades. The wild boar, hind, and horse are also to be seen. The animals are represented in all kinds of positions indicative of rest, movement, and energy. In excellence of drawing, firmness of line, and skilful blending of shades of colour, these animal painters show themselves superior to any of their successors in classical or medieval times. This is all the more remarkable since the roof is so low that the artist must have been compelled to assume a kneeling or even recumbent position in order to execute the work. Generally speaking, the figures appear to have been more or less outlined in engraved lines before the colour was applied. Apart from the paintings there are engravings on the walls of several animals, including the great stag, deer, goat, bison, and horse, and also of anthropomorphic figures, with arms upraised as if in supplication or in a dance. The heads of these figures are such that their human character can be presumed only on the assumption that a mask is being worn analogous to those used by some primitive peoples in ceremonial dances. Numerous non-zoomorphic designs in black and red also occur. The most interesting and important are those termed tectiform, because they are supposed to represent huts comparable in the simplicity of their structure to the dwellings of primitive peoples like the Bushmen of South Africa and the Australian aborigines.

Evidence of mural decoration has since been discovered in no fewer than fifteen other caves in this part of Spain. The largest and most important is the cavern of Castillo, a few miles south of Altamira. This was discovered in 1903 by Alcalde del Rio, and has since been thoroughly explored by him in company with l'Abbé Breuil and Père Sierra, the clever pencil of the former being again called into request. There

are drawings of the elephant, bison, and great stag outlined in red and yellow, and of the horse, hind, chamois, and ibex in broad black bands. Polychromes are very few, and are chiefly of the bison, executed in the Altamira manner. Engravings are numerous, including those of goats, stag, horse, bison, and ibex. Particularly interesting are a number of designs of hands, altogether about fifty, most of them collected in one place forming what the discoverers term the *Frise des Mains*. They are stencilled on a red ground, and resemble those executed on rocks and in caves by the aborigines of Australia. The great majority are of the left hand, from which it has been argued that palæolithic man, like his modern descendants or successors, was right-handed, and thus instinctively used his right hand to throw the coloured powder to stencil out the left hand. This however is not conclusive, for he might have adopted a method observed among the Australian natives of projecting the colouring matter from the mouth. Similar designs of hands in great numbers were discovered by M. Regnault in 1906 in the cave of Gargas in Hautes Pyrénées. Most of these also represent the left hand, turned upwards. In some cases the fingers are very short, probably due to the hand having been mutilated in a manner not unknown among modern savages, as for example the Mafulu of New Guinea. Some of these designs are very well preserved, being protected by a thin layer of stalagmite.

Two other caves in the Altamira region attract attention by the presence of designs curiously engraved on clay. At Hornos de la Peña, not far from Castillo, and again at La Clotilde de S. Isabel, in the neighbourhood of Altamira, meandering lines and outlines of animals are to be seen traced out on clay covering in places the walls. These designs, apparently made with the finger or a toothed instrument on the damp surface, immediately recall similarly executed tracings of arabesques and animals at Gargas, where they cover so large a space on the roof that a person making them would be compelled to change his position several times to complete them. In the cave of Niaux in Ariège a bison is excellently delineated on the clay floor in the same way.

Non-zoomorphic designs occur in many of the caves of north-west Spain. They are most numerous at Altamira and Castillo, where the tectiform design is often figured. Similar

designs are to be seen in the caves of the Dordogne, including Font de Gaume.

This cave, which is undoubtedly the most remarkably decorated cave yet discovered, is situated half a mile from the famous cave of Les Eyzies, and is essentially a narrow corridor about 150 metres long. Half-way through it narrows almost to closure, a point picturesquely spoken of by the explorers as the Rubicon. Beyond this point the cave takes the form of a perfectly straight gallery, some 60 metres long, with a lateral gallery on the right about half-way down; and on the left, a little farther on, a small chamber. Paintings are found on the whole left wall of the principal gallery and on part of its right wall; also in the lateral gallery and in the little chamber on the left. This last is called the *Salle des Petits Bisons*, for on its walls are no fewer than a dozen polychrome paintings of that animal. Truly nothing yet discovered in the whole range of palæolithic mural decoration is so impressive, and raises these ancient artists so high in one's estimation, as this long series of frescoes extending for more than 60 metres, representing mammoths, reindeer, stags, and above all the bison. In one place a group of at least five mammoths is seen, in another nine bison foregather, in a third a feline animal appears to be pursuing a number of horses. But perhaps the most striking scene is of two reindeer facing one another, with heads lowered, one being on its knees, their great antlers towering above. This remarkable work is the finest representation of this animal yet discovered on the walls of a cave, if it be not indeed the finest animal painting of palæolithic art. As in the case of so many of the other paintings, these figures were to a large extent carefully engraved before the colour was applied.

One of the most interesting drawings is that of a rhinoceros. It is outlined in broad red bands, the two tusks are clearly shown, and a slight modelling of the body is produced by a series of coloured lines running down and forward from the backs and up and backwards from the belly line. The head only of a rhinoceros, also in broad red line, appears in another part of the cave. These are the only paintings of this animal yet discovered, and engravings of it are very few, and are altogether inferior in artistic merit. The horse, bison, reindeer, and bovine animals are also depicted

in black only, either in line, or more or less modelled, or of uniform shade over the whole body. On contemplating this work, so extraordinary in its extent, conception, and execution, one cannot help thinking that much yet remains to be discovered in the caves of southern France.

At Font de Gaume, as in so many other caves, the drawings begin at points remote from the entrance. Consequently they must have been executed by artificial light. It is difficult enough to light up these dark recesses with modern illuminants, how much more so when a smoky torch or lamp was the only available source of light! Bearing on this point an interesting discovery was made at La Mouthe of a hollowed-out piece of sandstone which might have been used as a lamp. In the bottom of the cavity was carbonaceous matter, which was analysed by Berthelot and reported by him to be derived from some animal-fatty substance. That this conjectural lamp belongs to the palæolithic age may be inferred from the situation in which it was found, and from its being engraved on the bottom with the head of an ibex, showing all the life and skill of engravings of the same animal on horn recovered from the floor deposits of other caves. No sign of smoke is anywhere discernible in the caves, but oxidation over so long a period would account for this.

On contemplating these cave drawings, and especially those at Font de Gaume, the question involuntarily arises, Why were they done; what was the compelling motive which led these prehistoric artists to execute their work, and display their talents so far from the light of day? That the elaborate series of paintings in the principal gallery of Font de Gaume was merely the result of idle hours, or mere amusement *pour passer le temps*, seems a quite inadequate explanation. It will have been noticed that the animals so frequently represented—as the mammoth, reindeer, bison, horse, deer, ibex, and wild boar—are those which were no doubt hunted and formed the chief source of food. May not the paintings of these animals have had a magical or totemic significance associated with the idea of increasing their number, or of enabling them to be more easily found and killed? There are analogous customs of the Australian aborigines to support this view, first suggested by M. Salomon Reinach.

In this respect Font de Gaume is especially interesting and

instructive, and it is difficult not to believe that its mural decoration was associated with some special ceremonies. There is comparatively little evidence of the cave having been used as a habitation by palæolithic man at the time the paintings were made. The stone implements found are neither very numerous nor very varied in form, and there are only three typical gravers amongst them. Very significant are the facts that only two specimens of engraving on bone or horn (a horse's head and a few engraved lines), and very few pieces of ochre, have been found in the floor. Moreover the only animal bones found in any quantity are those of the cave bear, no doubt an early denizen of the cavern; not many of the reindeer and bison appear. If we go over to the well-known cave of Les Eyzies, only half a mile away, we find a very different state of affairs. No paintings are to be seen on its walls, but the floor deposits have shown that it was long inhabited, for they were rich in man's handiwork, and yielded large quantities of ochre, together with several shallow stone mortars in which it could easily have been ground and mixed for use. These facts suggest the inference that the artists lived at Les Eyzies, and took their tools and paints with them to Font de Gaume when engaged in ornamenting its walls. The appropriate decoration being completed, the people resorted to the cavern to take part in those ceremonies with which the paintings were associated.

In contrast with the paucity of human figures in the French caves are the considerable numbers now being discovered in Spain. On exposed rock surfaces near the village of Cogul, in Catalonia, are several painted frescoes. One of them is composed of ten human figures, nine women and a man, arranged in a row, the man in the middle. They are apparently dancing. Black is the predominant colour, but a certain amount of red is introduced. The bodies of the women are narrow-waisted with short skirts, characteristics which have suggested comparison with figures on Cretan frescoes. A few miles from Albaracin in the upper valley of the Guadalaviar river on the wall of a rock-shelter is a fresco of animals and men. The latter are five little figures in black or white, and are of great interest because two of them carry bows, and one is aiming at the animals facing him. He also carries a spare arrow in his belt. No representation of the bow has yet been

discovered in palæolithic art north of the Pyrenees. Still more remarkable is the decoration of two rock-shelters in the neighbourhood of Alpera, at the foot of the Sierra Chinchilla in the south-east of the Peninsula. On the walls at least 150 figures in red and brown have been counted, no fewer than seventy of them representing human beings. Only three are of women, but they are very interesting, two of them recalling by their dress the figures at Cogul. In one of these the features are clearly distinguishable. The forehead is high and straight, with slightly marked superciliary eminences. The nose is aquiline, and the mouth projects somewhat above a prominent chin. The hair is indicated by a series of vertical lines. The right hand is raised to the face, the left lies on the breast. The men are nude save for garterlike ornaments and rings on their legs; some have ornaments, apparently feathers, on their heads. Many of them carry bows and arrows, and some are in the act of discharging their arrows at stags drawn in a realistic manner. One of the hunters carries an undoubted spear with leaf-shaped point. These figures are full of life and movement and are shown in all kinds of attitudes.

The question of the antiquity of all this mural decoration is one which naturally arises and demands an answer. It is not surprising that at first much scepticism was evinced regarding the age of the cave paintings, and it may well be asked, How is it known that they date back to palæolithic times; may they not be the work of much more modern artists? A completely satisfactory answer to this question is not very easy in all cases. It depends on answers to further questions concerning the nature of the cave: for example, the closure of its entrance; the position, disturbance, and contents of its floor; the character of those contents, especially the fauna, implements, and works of art contained in them; the condition of the decorated wall surface, such as its incrustation with a covering of stalagmite. One of the most striking proofs comes from the cave of Pair-non-Pair in the Gironde, and the little grotto of La Grèze a few miles from Les Eyzies. Here, when first explored, the undisturbed floor-deposit partly covered the drawings. Careful examination of this deposit proved it to be of palæolithic age. Obviously the drawings must be older than the material covering them. Again, in the case of Castillo examination of the floor near the

entrance revealed a series of palæolithic deposits. When, as at Gargas, there is no sign of neolithic or later culture, and the entrance into the cave was closed with fallen debris at the time of its discovery, there can be little doubt about the age of the figures on the walls. When moreover, as at Hornos de la Peña, the entrance to the inner part of the cave containing the drawings appears to have been originally closed by deposits of a palæolithic character, certainty seems assured. Very convincing is the discovery at Altamira of palæolithic objects resting on a fallen frieze bearing incised designs executed before it fell. Where again the drawings are covered with a layer of stalagmite evidently of ancient date, they cannot have been the work of recent visitors to the caves.

The nature of the paintings themselves has an important bearing on this question. The mammoth and rhinoceros so realistically depicted in the Dordogne caves did not survive beyond the palæolithic age. The bison figuring so prominently at Altamira is believed to have disappeared from south of the Pyrenees before the neolithic period. Another point of much significance is the similarity in character of the wall drawings and the engravings on bone, horn, and ivory recovered from cave-floor deposits, the antiquity of which is beyond dispute. Both show the same composition, the same realism, the same boldness in design and vigour of drawing, the same defects. In fact one cannot fail to discover a real relationship between them. In both the vigorous living naturalism evinced can only be attributed to artists who had lived with the animals portrayed, which include the extinct mammoth and rhinoceros. Further evidence is furnished by the similarity in the subjects, mode of treatment and of execution of the drawings in caves far apart. A notable fact in this connexion is the poverty of conception and crudeness in execution which representations of the human body everywhere display. There is also the similarity in some of the curious inanimate designs, especially those called tectiform, which possibly represent the huts in which the artists dwelt. If there is no uncertainty regarding the age of the designs at Gargas, where the human hand is so largely depicted, the discovery of precisely similar figures on the walls of Font de Gaume, Castillo, and Altamira is clearly

an argument in favour of the paintings in those caves being equally ancient.

The age of the Spanish paintings, like those at Cogul and Alpera, is not so easily settled. The presence of two figures of bison at Cogul and one of an élan at Alpera is significant and points to a great antiquity. Their striking similarity in subject, treatment, and artistic character to the French paintings cannot be ignored. Palæolithic deposits are said to have been found in the vicinity of some, but their close association with the paintings has yet to be demonstrated. The presence of the bow is a subject of much interest, but also of some difficulty, because of its absence from the Cantabrian and French caves. It may be that it was not depicted there owing to the paucity and crudity of the representation of man, or its use may have been lost in the course of the northward migration in palæolithic times. That hunters should ever lose the use of a weapon so extremely serviceable as the bow seems in the highest degree improbable, but anthropologists are more and more inclined to believe that serviceable objects, such for example as pottery, may have once been known to people now found without them. The Polynesians, in fact, appear to have lost the bow as a weapon. A more probable explanation is that the Cantabrian and French palæolithic hunters represent an earlier wave of migration from the south before the bow was known; while the hunters so realistically drawn at Alpera were of the same stock, but came much later and after that useful weapon had been invented or discovered.

Close examination of the caves soon showed that some of the drawings covered others of older date. This superposition of the decorative elements is in fact very general in those caves where the engravings and paintings are at all numerous. It is a feature which has been carefully studied at Font de Gaume, Altamira, and the other Cantabrian caves, with a view to determining the order in evolution of this decorative art. The conclusions arrived at must, in view of the limited scope of the inquiry, be at regarded as provisional, yet there is reason to believe they are in the main correct. The designs of hands are regarded as the oldest, and exhibit the earliest efforts of prehistoric man to ornament his cave. Obviously the fine polychromes could not arise as a sudden artistic outburst, but must on the contrary have been the result of long

preceding training and effort, and attempts have been made, renewed, and revised with each considerable increase in knowledge, to trace exactly the course of their evolution. The earliest paintings are composed of simple lines in red or black. Then come figures slightly modelled in black, rarely in red, followed by broad-lined red forms. Paintings of uniform tint are of a later stage. Finally the polychromes appear. At first immature, showing only a slight combination of colour, they are succeeded by the culmination of the prehistoric painter's art, the beautiful polychromes so well seen at Altamira and Font de Gaume. The designs traced in clay by the finger are supposed to be earlier than the engravings on the rocky surface. They may be looked upon as the prelude to engraving proper. The oldest of the rock engravings are executed in deep broad incisions ; later the lines are shallower, and finally they become fine and delicate, and may be combined to form a hatched or scratched surface.

The incredulity at first shown, and still not unknown, as to the possibility of prehistoric man exhibiting so early in his evolution such considerable artistic skill and taste, is at once disarmed by the study of existing primitive peoples. The numerous cave paintings and engravings executed by the Bushmen of South Africa, a people living by the chase, and probably quite as uncivilised as the palæolithic hunters of the Dordogne and Pyrenees, are in many ways similar to the drawings on the walls of French and Spanish caves. Animal forms are chiefly represented and often in a very realistic manner. Very recent discoveries in the Ma-dobo range of southern Rhodesia must raise still higher than before our estimation of Bushman art. In these mountains are many caves decorated with paintings of animals, among them being monkeys, elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, lions, antelopes, snakes, and fish. Some of them are 8 to 10 feet long, and painted high up on the concave roof. Shrubs, grasses, and flowers are also portrayed, and more than one representation of the Victoria Falls. The human form, showing great variety of attitude and action, is not uncommon. Here also it is evident that the rock surface was sometimes engraved before application of the colour, the procedure so often employed by the palæolithic artist. In view of these facts we should not be surprised, indeed it is hardly too much to say that we may

expect, to find still more remarkable works of art in the French caves than have yet come to light.

In many parts of Australia the aborigines have engraved on rocks and painted on caves figures of men and animals. They show a similar realism. The same artistic spirit is shown in paintings on cork and leather, and in the incised and the temporary coloured designs marked out on the ground in connexion with their initiation and totemic ceremonies. Further they ornament their implements and weapons with engraving and painting. The Eskimo and Chuchki ornament their weapons with engravings of the reindeer and other animals, of men, huts, sledges, tents, and boats. The same realism is again apparent. Even greater artistic ability is shown by the Eskimo in their carvings of bone and ivory; fishes, seals, whales, and bears are excellently sculptured in these materials.

In their artistic efforts all these hunting tribes exhibit the same realistic naturalism that characterises the art of the prehistoric hunters of southern France and Spain: a characteristic generally absent from that of pastoral and agricultural peoples who in other respects have reached a higher plane of civilisation. However unsatisfactory psychological explanations of these differences may be, the physiological one, so far as it goes, is clear, viz. that the superiority in the domain of representative art of the culturally inferior peoples rests upon the greater development of the sense of sight, of the powers of observation, and of manual dexterity necessarily resulting from the nature and exigencies of the primitive hunter's life.

E. A. PARKYN.

THE TENDENCIES OF MODERN ART.

1. **The Letters of a Post-Impressionist**, being the familiar correspondence of VINCENT VAN GOGH. Translated from the German by ANTHONY M. LUDOVICI. Constable and Co. 1912.
2. **The Position of Landscape in Art**. By COSMOS. George Allen and Co. 1912.
3. **Hercules Brabazon Brabazon**. By C. LEWIS HIND. George Allen and Co. 1912.

THE manifestations of the advanced art of our time are so disturbing to settled convictions derived from Victorian days, that even the larger public is beginning to ask what has happened that artists, whose calling has hitherto in England seemed so tranquil and enviable, should be engaged in a sort of holy war with one another. The battle in progress has sympathetically affected both literature and music, and is being carried on with a fury which shows that the causes at issue go far deeper than in the Whistlerian and Impressionist conflicts.

Looking back on the Victorian age, the social student finds that at the time when England was manifesting a stupendous burst of energy in scientific discovery and thought, and in the practical application of science to industry, the art of the nation had sunk to its most timid and parasitic condition. There were, of course, exceptions, and it is of these exceptions that we chiefly think when we speak of Victorian art. But in the main the reaction of art to the age was astonishingly feeble. Gifted technicians there were in plenty, but—if we except the great landscape painters in the earlier years and the continuation of their work by the Impressionists at the close, the short sudden burst of angry beauty in the Pre-Raphaelites, the occasional English epic by Watts, and some tender febrile portraits that appeared mainly as the result of Whistler's influence—the token of Victorian painting seems to be a solace for the spare moments of a strenuous age. This is all the more striking, for in the eighteenth century England, through the influence of the travelled connoisseur, had maintained the continental grand manner and standard of style.

But in the Victorian age the patrons of the artist were mainly the new class of wealthy manufacturers and traders, and for a time art almost ceased to be intended either for the cultured aristocracy like eighteenth-century painting, or for the poorer middle class like the prints and engravings from Hogarth to Rowlandson. The new patron, being in the main untravelled, and gentility having spoilt the racy tastes of his humble beginnings, might have been thought particularly open to take his art unquestioningly from his artist. It ought to have been possible for English artists to have imposed upon these merchants of a proud and stirring age an art as opulent and ambitious as the Venetian artists gave to the great traders of Venice. Here were men, for the most part simple and eager for the refreshing fruits which they had been told by Mr. Ruskin art had to offer, ready with large cheques and unfailing hospitality as a poor recompense to the high priests of the Temple for their great boons. But all that was given to them was—well, the Tate Gallery, the Holloway Collection, and the off days at Christie's will tell what was given to them. As a class, the railway kings, nitrate kings, pill makers, and great tradesmen bought rubbish and made bad bargains; but their ideals were good. At any rate they desired for their money higher and less material satisfaction than the freak dinners and the motor and Riviera life of our own newly rich. As it happened, curiously enough, the taste at Court corresponded with the simple external preferences of these patrons. ('I like my pictures glossy,' a very august lady is reported to have said to Sir Edwin Landseer.) In the painting of animals the patronising attitude of the time was more nakedly revealed. Wild animals were interesting, so far as human attributes could be read into them. Dogs were shown as 'Dignity and Impudence,' the lion as 'The King of Beasts,' and so on. What was alien, wild and menacing to the soul of man in nature and in animals was ignored. Long, Goodall, and hosts of others searched the East for subjects, and came back with a good story or two in paint and a little Byronic romance. Alma Tadema's pretty and learned reconstructions, so inadequate as a vision of the lust and terror of the antique world, were hardly challenged in their day, so little was expected of emotional truth, although the Pre-Raphaelites had come and gone, and their pale

procession of camp-followers was still trailing 'greenery-yallery' lotus flowers through the galleries of London. The artists were encouraged to produce large, heavy, smirking pictures, with a trivial motive that dulled and devitalised life instead of intensifying and penetrating it. Their pictures now cover the walls of our big municipal galleries, and it is surely one of the most pathetic things in the public history of our art that the awakening of the great cities to a knowledge that art had something to give them ended in the filling of their new galleries with the topical stupidities of the time. Each silly 'picture of the year' added to these galleries, and confirmed the indolent mentality and false sentiment that beset the practice of art in Victorian England. In the twentieth century the attitude of the time, as expressed by the patron, has quite changed. Every day at Christie's sees a growing intolerance of the complacent ideals and methods of the Victorian favourites. We have other foolishness, no doubt, and are still paying thousands for second-rate Barbizon pictures and dubious old masters, and 'Cries of London' (that are not from the heart) ; but on the whole the instincts of the time are better.

The best indication of the difference between the Georgian and the Victorian eras is the extraordinary enlargement of the public acquaintance with Old Masters. Their art has been analysed, discussed, and illustrated with a thoroughness that we used to give only to the supernatural. Photography, that to its old-fashioned devotees (like Mr. G. B. Shaw) seemed at one time likely to supplant the Old Masters, has been tied to their chariots and made to testify to their glories. Although concern with art in any of its manifestations is visible only in a minority of people of any class, the concern for Old Masters runs vertically through the nation, and touches every degree of culture. However our new art may develop, however wild may be its extremists, the insular self-satisfaction of Victorian art is gone for ever. The artist again lives in a highly critical cosmopolitan surrounding, the patron is again the student of art, and the philosopher is always at the artist's elbow, asking 'What is art ?'

It is unnecessary now to trace the pedigree of the movement for full freedom to express visual truths that was termed 'Impressionism.' In landscape the link is the work of Turner,

Bonington, and Constable at the beginning of the century. If their countrymen treasured only the ashes of their art, France stole some of its heat, and its influence on the Barbizon men, who in turn influenced Monet and the Impressionists, is admitted by every Englishman. One English Impressionist there was whose long life spanned the gaps between the going and the returning of the new desire for atmosphere and luminosity, and the flowering of colour on canvas and on paper; although his first exhibition was not till 1892 when he was in his seventy-second year. The public were certainly not till then ready for Hercules Brabazon Brabazon's lovely art, shell-like in its small iridescent perfections.

At the time when Brabazon died Impressionism had been accepted in England, and the Royal Academy had assumed the aspect that the independent societies wore about ten years earlier, while in these societies signs were appearing that the desertion from Impressionism to a more synthetic and self-revealing art had already begun. The increasing seriousness of purpose and revival of draughtsmanship, that were soon to make themselves felt, owed their inspiration, not to official schools nor to a great native exemplar, but to Alphonse Legros, a French artist deeply versed in the Old Masters, who lived the main part of his long life in England and devoted his many gifts to the discovery and teaching of what is permanent and communicable in the great art of the past. He had a sort of second sight which enabled him to see Old Masters at work in the fields of Watford and Wembley Park. The new feeling for style and form, which is characteristic of our time, owes much of its quickening to him.

But in the first decade of the new century these signs were only apparent to the close student of art. The impetus of Impressionism which we had received from France began to slacken in sympathy with the turn of the tide there. Our new forces were experimenting, in strange eclectic company, for a form to express their new sensibility. Work, whose merit was its individualist character, was being done in isolated quarters, but as a whole there was a general weakening of intention and questioning of reputations that corresponded to the trend of the national temper of the time. The inquiry into the administration of the funds of the Chantrey Bequest

had shaken the reputation of the established corporation of English art beyond repair in our day. This became very evident as time went on, and the Academicians themselves, being mainly old men and seeing the heavy fall in the price of their pictures in the auction market, and the steady conversion of Bond Street to Old Masters and etchings, perceived clearly that art was in a bad way and, as is customary, looked across the Channel for the cause of this distressful state of affairs. Very little observation was required to satisfy them that a new movement had arisen there and was known everywhere but in England. That was Post-Impressionism.

From the lamentations over the decline of English art that have appeared in the Press during the past twelve months it is easy to construct an approximate image. We must imagine English Art as a female Job, sitting in peace in her household and awaiting the arrival of the messengers. The first messenger comes with the tidings that the anecdote picture is dead. The oxen were ploughing and the asses were feeding together when Mr. George Moore rushed down upon them, and only Mr. John Collier was left to paint the tale. And while he was speaking there came another, beating his breast and crying that allegoric high art too had perished at the hands of critics (who were, however, incompetent and unworthy of attention), and he, Sir W. B. Richmond, alone had escaped. And while he also was yet speaking there came another and cried that Impressionism was perishing even in the house of the New English. And lo! even as he spoke behold another came who said 'Mr. Sargent has given up painting portraits.' Then English Art rose up and rent her garments, and having shaven her head with a potsherd fell down upon the ground and her friends knew her not.

Yes; the complete cessation of portrait painting by the most gifted and powerful portrait painter of the age is certainly the culminating point in the woeful calendar. It is difficult to imagine such a renunciation by a great painter of an earlier time. Have the doubts of the validity of Impressionism begun to assail even him in whose hand it was a wonderful instrument to probe into hidden truths of personality? Mr. Sargent has hinted that it is even so. A couple of years ago a picture by him appeared in the New English Art Club's exhibition showing a landscape painter hugging a large box of paints to his heart

and peering solemnly before him for a little subject. The sunshine struck his white shirtsleeves, and made little spiky lights on the latches of his boots. Great mountains rose all around him. The little man with his big box of paints seated so self-importantly, peering around for his little effect, while Nature in its vastness stared down at him, made one think of a man hunting a rabbit while a lion stands behind him. Possibly Mr. Sargent's only intention was a portrait of a friend on the Alps, but a future generation may prize it as the declaration of the end of a faith.

The new movement that was then emerging from English art was largely influenced by the Pre-Renaissance Italian masters, by archaic Greek, Byzantine, Egyptian, and Assyrian art, and by the art of the Far East. Mr. Augustus John, its leader, already occupies a position for which there is no parallel in our history in that his art, which is supported by many of the most fastidious and erudite connoisseurs of the time, has for its content democratic and revolutionary ideals of the most uncompromising kind. The first rankness of his subject-matter has subsided with the passing of the stuffy materialism in official paintings, against which it was a protest. It is no longer spoken of as 'high art' in the sense that game is 'high.' The art of this group has much in common with that of the French Post-Impressionists, although Mr. John's development seems to have had no connexion with their experiments; but the plastic freedom of Puvis de Chavannes undoubtedly gave important hints to both schools. It is noticeable that they have sought in the first place to simplify their art by simplifying their technical method as well as their representations. They use tempera, and in their experiments with oil have often reduced their colours to a few tints prepared beforehand; and besides demanding freedom in drawing and in treatment of the subject they refuse to be bound by the accepted system of atmospheric tones. They seek to dislocalise their figures so that they belong to no class, no place, or time. By all these devices they aim at a lean athletic art to run deeper into our consciousness. For that purpose they have stripped art of much that was comfortable and informing, of many graces and charms, and of many truths that we had come to think inseparable from it, and it is natural enough that in the eyes of the older generation the result should have a naked, disquieting look. Mr. John's

masterpiece, 'The Girl on the Cliff,' is like nothing else in English painting in the pure keenness of its imaginative invention. The master draughtsman of his time, he has been strong enough to yield up every appearance of skill and of grace, and to limn his idea with the fresh, short-cut directness of a child.

This we see alike in his gigantic groups of gipsies arbitrarily grouped together in a cold bright transfiguration of English countryside; in his primitive matrons, sealed in knowledge, mysteriously smiling; and in strange girl figures with dilated eyes, roaming solitarily in remote places. He attains his mysticism without vagueness. His outlines are clear and hard as mountain crests, and his tones are never indeterminate. His poetry is his own, and unlike the Pre-Raphaelites he moves us without inspiration from the poets. He uses none of the usual devices to glamour you into his country. He blows his high, clear trumpet, and the curtain of our every-day mind is rent and his world opens before us. Compare his 'World Elsewhere' with the anæmia and luxury of Burne-Jones's conception. This bright, clear world he possesses as definitely and fully as Blake did his; his power to render it is greater, and that power has been purified to its essence by his single-minded passion to get closer and closer to his image. This is a supreme quality of the rarer masters, one of the most lasting weapons in art's armoury, and rarer in proportion to the gifts of the artist which tempt him to demonstration of his powers.

The intense faithfulness to the creatures of the mind, that we identify most clearly in that much-loved master Fra Angelico, is the marking characteristic of John's imaginative art. In his types we see embodied ideals that have been long absent from our art, if indeed they have ever been assembled within it: brute strength, independence, and life on primitive and patriarchal terms. No weak-looking man ever finds a place in his pictures; the old men look cunning and tough, the children untamed and fierce, the women deep-breasted, large-bodied, steady-eyed, like mothers of a tribe. A bracing wind seems always blowing and the hills are darkling in the distance, but there are flowers underfoot. His people are never in an interior, except sometimes in a tent. They stand firmly on the earth and regard civilisation with

eyes that have judged it and found it wanting. Unlike Brangwyn and Meunier, who have been termed the artists of democracy, John rarely shows a figure at work. Strangest of all the impressions one gets from these wild wayfarers is responsibility. He makes you see that his strong men and women in poor clothes, standing with beauty under cold skies, have chosen their part and challenge you to judge them. This is John's message. Nor is it unrelated to a spirit of the age that is reflected in other activities. The distrust of comfort, of cities, of society in its present organisation, even of civilisation, and the desire for a simple life and the recovery of the virtues that lie in a more physical communion with the earth, are all questions of the time that many writers are urging upon the people, and that many are putting to the test of experiment.

With John one classes several other artists who have set out into a new and untilled field of art through the gap that he had made. Of these the most distinguished is Henry Lamb, who with subtle gifts for colour and design in the high Italian tradition seems to be seeking in many strange ways to find pictorial expression for conceptions as far from sentient experience as is music. He has travelled farthest on his way towards the same house as the Post-Impressionists in his inventions of figures in a fantastic setting.

French Post-Impressionism first landed at Brighton in 1910, and reached London about a year later. Naturally a movement so fiercely opposed to the established practice of art in England aroused a shout of condemnation and ridicule, but at the same time artists, critics, and public were unusually ready to expose their sensibility to the action of this new, uncanny art. The works of Cézanne, Gauguin, and Van Gogh could not be dismissed by serious students as daubs by charlatans, anarchists, and self-advertisers. Cézanne was a pious Catholic, a *rentier*, and a good family man. When he laid down the difficult and original lines on which his art was to develop he said good-bye to all prospect of fame, and was sure of nothing but the hostility of dealers and patrons. He only once exhibited a painting during twenty years. He pursued his ideal till the end, when he died with a brush in his hand. Van Gogh and Gauguin, weak in body and miserably poor, found no appreciation in their lifetime, neither did they seek it. Gauguin

found his chief inspiration in the people of the Tahiti and the Marquesas Islands. Van Gogh's work was all done when living in obscurity in a French town, far from the excitement of studios and exhibitions. His letters, edited by Mr. A. M. Ludovici (whose introduction is one of the most probing contributions to recent criticism), are among the very few revelations of an artist's soul that the world possesses. These three artists were Impressionists who had given up their faith. From their new point of view it followed that nearly all that Impressionism had painfully garnered was valueless and was only a lure to entice art from its strait path.

Our debt to the French Impressionists is that they gave an impression of the world infinitely more vivid and real than existed before; but had their success remained unchallenged, their worship of the illusion of reality as an art in itself would have become an intolerable tyranny, which would have forced painting to have exercised only one side of her powers and atrophied completely the side on which she claims kinship with a pure and abstract art like music. So, swiftly on the heels of the Impressionists, the Post-Impressionists were bound to come and bring redress. Their maddest things may be taken as inarticulate outcries that something was wrong. The leaders, Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin, not only reproduced a furious indictment of the whole aim of contemporary art, but discovered strange enlarging avenues for a new advance into the Unseen :

And so bring the invisible full into play :
Let the visible go to the dogs—what matter ?

As a glimpse of the spirit animating these men this excerpt from a letter by Vincent Van Gogh is illuminating. Van Gogh imagined himself painting an artist friend—'an artist who 'dreams and works as the nightingale sings songs.' He writes :

'Let us imagine him a fair man. All the love I feel for him I should like to reveal in my painting of the picture. To begin with, then, I paint him just as he is, as faithfully as possible—still, this is only the beginning; the picture is by no means finished at this stage. Now I begin to apply the colour arbitrarily. I exaggerate the tone of his fair hair; I take orange, chrome, and dull lemon-yellow. Behind his head, instead of the trivial wall of the room, I paint infinity. I make a simple background out of the richest of blues, as strong as my palette will allow. And thus,

owing to this simple combination, this fair and luminous head has the mysterious effect upon the rich blue background of a star suspended in dark ether.'

In another letter he said: 'It is my most fervent desire 'to know how to achieve such diversions from reality, such 'inaccuracies and such transfigurations that come about by 'chance. Well yes, if you like, they are lies; but they are 'more valuable than real values.' Transfiguration is the desire that underlies the best work of the school. Its members do not look back to Titian or to Rembrandt, or to Leonardo, in whom the perfect balance between a noble mould of design and realism of representation was struck—the equipoise of the subjective and objective—but throw the balance on the side of design. Their followers in France have, in the main, thrown all their weight on that side and, as it were, have brought the scale down heavily on the subjective foundation. So, in the hands of Picasso and his followers painting is fast passing into an abstract state, purged of any associations, and becoming something more analogous to the free art of music.

Of the three great forms of expression of the spirit of fine art we find poetry at one end of the scale and music at the other. Pictorial and plastic art lies midway, and accordingly as it has kept the balance between the quality most contained in each of the sister arts so far it has attained the highest expression of itself. With poetry the immediate appeal is the smallest of all; and although it is held that poetry is the marriage of sound and sense, sense is so far the predominating partner that we only care to read poetry in an unknown tongue for a very short time—many people, for instance, cannot tolerate more than two verses of Burns's 'Poor Mailie.' With sculpture and painting the two properties merge more intricately into one another, for in the one operation of the eye both things claim equal attention. A picture appeals to us by its design and colour before we have considered what it represents. That immediate effect, however, has an organic relation to the content of the picture. It is conceived by the artist, consciously or unconsciously, as the symbol of his subject, and is the last thing to disappear. So we find in old and faded works by good masters wonderful ghosts of form and colour after features, dress, and action have almost disappeared. In every real work of art this quality that is not representation exists, and apart from all veracity

of statement, or beauty of the subject-matter, or illustration of life, it is what makes the painting a work of art. Primitive art has this first-hand expressiveness ; and although we may argue that it was the result of incapacity to represent objects, that as soon as the primitive could draw his images better he did so, and that this is what we understand by the progress of art, it does not follow that this lost expressiveness is not worth much of what we have gained, or rather, that something of its spirit cannot be recovered and developed in another way than that of the Greeks and the Renaissance. Even the stoutest of us, as he has stood by the eternal-looking figures in the Assyrian and Egyptian rooms in the British Museum, must have had his moments of doubt whether all the victories won by Greek art have not cost us more than a defeat.

Mr. George Moore in one of his early essays raised this interesting speculation : what would have happened to Japanese art if a cargo of the Elgin marbles had been wrecked on the coast of Japan ? A speculation that is more to the taste of our day is : what might have happened here if, before the Renaissance, a cargo of Egyptian and Assyrian figures had found its way ashore on both sides of the Channel ? Each year, however, sees more and more examples of the ancient art of the East assembling in European museums, and the impact of this penetrating expressiveness upon the more sensitive minds of our generation is probably one of the causes of the dissatisfaction with the whole trend of art that is now becoming manifest all over Europe. But the more potent influence has been the new knowledge of Chinese art which has moved Western artists to the greatest heart-searchings. The whole art of the Orient is at last receiving respectful study—its significance as well as its form—and the artists are beginning to follow the students, and their studies are carrying them far in directions that seem like madness to their older contemporaries. For instance, the Indian many-limbed figures, which a generation ago were dismissed as barbaric and debased forms of art, are now thought no more strange than the centaurs and fauns of the Greeks, and it has become the focus of discussion whether they do not represent further possibilities of making sculpture more symphonic or processional, the many limbs, it is argued, having power to suggest infinity. In a word, the question is raised whether the drift of art was really Westward.

The new learning of Oriental art bulks more and more formidably every day, and the forces are gathering in all parts of Europe. The solid foundations (especially in the Grafton Gallery) are beginning to tremble underfoot, and men are asking one another whether there is any law (or by-law) on earth why there should not be more than one Renaissance. In Italian art before the Renaissance the masters exercised a plastic freedom over their designs and a power to intensify and exaggerate expressiveness that gives them often a curious kinship with Eastern art, this power fading in the fifteenth century and in the seventeenth dying away (shall we say?) in the enigmatic smile—faintly Chinese—of the Mona Lisa. It may be that some day, when Oriental learning has wrought a complete change, people will say of her (for, of course, she will be rediscovered by then) that she was smiling at the wrong Renaissance.

Since the powerful influence of that Renaissance, art has gone fast and far along the road to complete imitation of nature. But as the artist's power of representation has enlarged, the problems of this function have in an increasing measure occupied his mind, and the objects upon which he has exercised it have slackened their demand upon his power to invent and magnify. There were, of course, a host of other factors, such as the modern concern with light, which became the 'hero of the picture,' but the decline in the importance of the subject-matter and a lessening capacity for pregnant design are indisputable. The question that falls to be considered is whether the synthesists (to group together the French Post-Impressionists and the Augustus John group in England under one ugly but convenient title) do not really go far to remedy the two disabilities into which modern art has fallen. The one group, which includes most of the living Frenchmen who exhibited at the Grafton Gallery this year, have accepted and carried yet further the negation of the subject-matter, but they seek to make the composition monumental in its own right by the value of the pigment, the strength and intensity of colour, and the simplification of form to shapes that convey this sense of permanence. The other group, which includes John, Lamb, and Grant, in England, and Maurice Denis, and a number of Frenchmen, seeks to revive the importance of subject-matter, and to concentrate upon the emotional significance that arises

from the subject. Whether we agree or not that they have found the remedies, we must admit that both sections are serious about serious things, and that their search for monumental form and style is all for the good. It is significant that many of the most learned and most thoughtful of our critics here and in France have given their general support to the movement; that it has attracted back to contemporary painting the more serious section of our connoisseurs who want art to be anything but a solace for tired minds; and that it has stabbed through the indifference to art into which the general public had fallen since the Pre-Raphaelites.

How far the movement is leading us, and how changed the criteria of criticism are becoming, may be gauged from an excerpt from a Post-Impressionist article in the 'Burlington Magazine' by Mr. Clive Bell, a leading apologist of the school, who puts the case for perfect freedom in this way:

'Either all works of art have something in common, or when we speak of "works of art" we gibber. What is this quality? What quality is shared by all works that stir our aesthetic emotions? What quality is common to St. Sophia and the windows at Chartres, Mexican sculpture, Chinese carpets, Giotto's frescoes, the masterpieces of Poussin, of Cézanne, and of Henri Matisse? Only one answer seems possible—significant form. In each, forms and relations of forms stir our aesthetic emotions. Form is the one quality common to all works of visual art.'

The claim is distinctly staked out that the plastic arts are not representative but presentative like music. The purest form of art by this theory would be art purged of its content, and reduced to cubes and patterns, for then there would be nothing but form and the relations of form. Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Gauguin had this in common, that they sought to reclaim the ancient prerogative of the artist to deal with his subject after his own law. Their transfigurations were expressed in terms of abstract form. They were synthesists above everything else. A few of their French followers seek, like John and Lamb, to transfigure their subjects in terms of significant form, but the majority are content with the aim of form without concern for the subject. England therefore, at a time when she has not made up her mind whether pictorial art can be severed from literary associations, finds herself facing the spectacle of pictorial art trying to

sever itself from all associations. Can pictorial art live apart from its association content like music, or will it become gibberish, as poetry does when the poet seeks to use words for their rhythmic value apart from their meaning? Can it give up ethics and cease to have the responsibility of poetry without lowering its whole value to the human race? The answer surely is that it cannot; that although works of art have in common the language of significant form, a work of art to be great must also have a moral value that can be expressed in that form, as form in poetry rises to its heights when it is expressing its most ecstatic thoughts. That any movement can alter a principle so deeply rooted in the human race, is, at the least, unlikely, but that such an attempt is valuable as a corrective of the ills of modern art—the otiose condition of our classicalists, the indigestion of our Impressionists—is surely undeniable.

Nevertheless, England, at least, need have little fear of Post-Impressionism or any other form of imported art. England only imports what can be dealt with by her national temperament, and that she speedily transforms into a home product on which the original exporter cannot find his trade marks. How different is the wayward, dainty Impressionism of Steer, Clausen, McTaggart (who got Impressionism by wireless, for he never saw a Monet till he was over sixty), of the Glasgow School, of Brabazon, Holmes and Houston, from the Impressionism that seized and possessed Monet, Renoir and Pissarro, to whom their art was a new religion! The prevailing instinct of English art is the desire for beauty, and we pay the penalty in the national cult of prettiness, which is as far into her territory as most of us can enter. Our boast might be that we make two pretty things grow where one idea grew before. However the mandarins may rage against them, even our pioneers are never ahead of beauty. But the French can forget her in their search for truths, and it is they who must take their consolation from Whitman's lines:

. . . The Great Masters

Do not seek beauty, they are sought;
For ever touching them, or close upon them, follows beauty,
Longing, fain, lovesick.

No characteristic of the Englishman is more clearly expressed

in his art than his love of an harmonious life within the walls of that much-vaunted castle of his, which is inviolate, because the authorities know perfectly well that nothing dangerous is concealed within. (Who ever heard of a really dangerous English anarchist?) We have an incurable gift (called 'Spirit of Compromise') for taking an ideal, domesticating it, and making it something with which we can live harmoniously. Life must be pleasant and seemly. The French have a gift for making life fit an ideal—or be damned. It was they who had the Revolution and the Commune. There is a shy, wild-flower quality in our English art that makes it perhaps seem fragile and accidental when seen beside the art of contemporary schools of the Continent, with their strong intensive culture. But England's spontaneous charm never altogether fails, and is ever springing up under the most unlikely hedgerows and in queer company to carry us through seasons when professional crops on the Continent have perished in the drought.

But the continuous, laborious, seriousness so characteristic of the French mind is as alien to us as is its gaiety. French genius takes *pains* in the real sense of the word. Millet, Degas, Monet, and Cézanne belong to a line of artist-explorers to whom we have no equivalent. It is this spirit that England needs most, for in our island art loses her divine fierceness and challenge, and we forget that beauty should be more than sweetness, that art at her noblest can be 'terrible as an army with banners.' Therefore let us not shut our gates to all that comes with the smoky flares of the Post-Impressionists:

What the future may hold for English art is more than ever an enigma; but of one thing we may be sure: Post-Impressionism, either as a poison or a medicine, will never be taken here in its purity. You never get in England the empty vessel. Artist, musician, writer, politician—their capacity is always nearly full: only a little can go on top and the body of the liquor remains much the same. None of our national bogeys are really dangerous. No anarchists, Jesuits, or Post-Impressionists can ever have their will of us. South Kensington and Hammersmith can sleep safe o' nights, well guarded by the Spirit of Compromise, formidable to Art as to Anarchy.

JAMES BONE.

THE TRADE OF CANADA

1. Report of the Department of Customs, containing the Tables of Imports, Exports, and Navigation of the Dominion of Canada for the Fiscal Year ended March 31, 1912. Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa. 1912.
2. Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States. December 1912. Government Printing Office. Washington. 1912.
3. Tables of the Trade and Navigation of the Dominion of Canada for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1902. Printed by Order of Parliament. Ottawa. 1902.

IN view of her geographical position and of her relations with the United Kingdom and the United States, the foreign trade of Canada furnishes a most interesting and suggestive field for study by political economists, and by statesmen, on both sides of the Atlantic. Fortunately, the official returns of Canadian trade are published in such full—indeed, in such absolutely unique—detail, that the most exact study can be undertaken with confidence. Other countries publish returns showing foreign imports more or less classified as to the character of the merchandise imported and as to the country of origin. The Canadian returns show the value, and, where it is possible, the quantity, of all goods entered for consumption under every one of the separate items—more than fifteen hundred in all, dutiable or free—which are specified in the tariff laws. They also show the value of the importation from each country, down to the smallest particular. To give but two examples out of hundreds that might be furnished: In the fiscal year ended March 31, 1912, there were imported into Canada from the United Kingdom 160 pounds of yeast cake, valued at \$82, on which the preferential duty (4 cents a pound) amounted to \$6.40; and from the United States 583 pounds, valued at \$187, on which the duty levied under the general tariff (6 cents a pound) was \$34.98. Again, Canada received more than half a million pounds of cut tobacco from twenty different countries, and the quantity and value of the consignment from each country are separately reported down to the four pounds received from Belgium. Such facts as these can be

ascertained from the Canadian reports for every one of the thousand or more items of goods subject to duty. The full statement as to dutiable goods imported in the fiscal year 1911-12 covers 345 pages of the Blue book ; while the returns of all imports and exports during the same year occupy more than 750 pages. It will be seen that a statement of such a kind offers an unexampled opportunity to study the character of a nation's trade ; and since returns identical in method are available for a long series of years, it is possible to ascertain with accuracy the direction and the momentum of that trade.

The situation of Canada is peculiar and anomalous. On the one hand she is a self-governing dependency of Great Britain, and her people are passionately proud of and loyal to the British connexion ; their form of government is on the English model ; in national sentiment they are intensely British, and so far as they can be said to have any national antipathy, it is anti-American — 'America' in this article signifying, as it does, in popular language, the United States.

On the other hand, in practically everything outside of government and politics, Canadians and Americans are precisely alike. Not only are their methods the same in most occupational and business matters, in trade, agriculture, manufacturing and banking, but the likeness extends to their modes of life in the smallest particular. A Canadian town is like an American town in its general appearance ; in its streets, its sidewalks, its fences, its houses—which are architecturally similar, and are warmed and lighted on the same systems. Except for the legends on the carriages no one could distinguish a Canadian from an American railway train. A Canadian newspaper is like an American newspaper in form, make-up, and the character of its contents. The currency systems are the same, including the universal use of paper money instead of gold. The laws governing the ownership and transfer of land, and in fact almost all the civil and criminal laws, are practically the same. In the matter of religion, the same denominations are found on both sides of the line in about the same proportions, though not so many of them, to be sure, in Canada. There is no established Church in either country. In all these and in other respects wherein the Canadians and Americans resemble each other—in habits, methods, and institutions—they differ widely from the people of England. Moreover, they are such near neighbours that although a

boundary-line, exceeding three thousand miles in length, separates them, at least one-half of the population of each country lives at a distance from that boundary less than the distance from London to Edinburgh. They are also constantly flitting from one country to the other. According to the last census of the United States, more than a million of the inhabitants of that country (in 1910) were Canadian by birth. On the other hand, several hundred thousand Americans have settled on the fertile lands of the Canadian north-west. The railways cross the frontier at dozens of points, and the interchange of visits is as frequent as between two English counties.

Americans and Canadians are alike also in that their trade with the outside world is restricted, so far as importations are concerned, by a protective tariff. Each country has erected a tariff wall for the purpose of obstructing the admission of the productions of all other countries. The walls are not of equal height, that of the United States being much the higher. Moreover, Canada has made a partial breach in her wall on the side toward the British Isles, whereas that of the United States is of uniform height throughout its entire extent.

It is the purpose of this article to examine the effect which the Canadian wall, with its frowning southern side, and the partial breach on its eastern face, has had upon the commerce of Canada with the United States and with Great Britain. This study will help to show whether the results of the Canadian preferential tariff are so advantageous to British trade, and so disadvantageous to American, as to furnish Great Britain with an argument for imperial preference, or to strengthen the sentiment in the United States in favour of a reciprocity agreement with Canada. Imperial preference has not yet taken concrete form; reciprocity, formally negotiated, and accepted by the United States, was contemptuously rejected by Canada in 1911—a step which was frantically acclaimed by some people in England as a declaration of independence of American influences and a renewed oath of loyalty to the British connexion.

A few words are necessary to explain the history of the present Canadian tariff. In 1879 Sir John Macdonald brought into operation his 'national policy,' by which the pre-existing system of low duties for revenue purposes was superseded by the system of protection of Canadian products. Although the change was made against the earnest opposition of the Liberal

party, that party, since it has been in power, has not only maintained but in certain cases has strengthened the protective rates. Mr. (now Sir Wilfrid) Laurier began in 1897 the system of granting a reduction of duties on goods the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom or of certain specified British possessions.* The original rate of reduction was one-eighth; increased in 1898 to one-fourth, and in 1900 to one-third. Until 1907 the reduction was uniform on all goods entitled to the preferential rate. In the Tariff Act of that year a specific reduction was made upon each class of goods mentioned, but the average of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. is still maintained.

Canadians for generations past have held the opinion that American tariffs were framed in a spirit of special hostility to Canada, and it requires no abnormal astuteness to perceive that both the 'national policy' and the imperial preference were designed chiefly to check the introduction of goods of American origin. The motives were, nevertheless, somewhat mixed. A sentiment of friendliness to the mother country—friendliness is, of course, a weak word with which to describe it—entered into the concession of lower duties to British productions. Again, Sir Wilfrid is, theoretically, a free trader, and he urged the preferential policy on the ground of its benefit to the Canadians themselves. Some of his followers, and also some of his political opponents, undoubtedly hoped that the policy would induce similar concessions on the part of Great Britain; but Sir Wilfrid always denied that such a purpose entered into his own advocacy of the system, and he declared that he should adhere to it, whatever the Imperial government might do or fail to do.

So far as unofficial Canada is concerned—and it is quite safe to conjecture that this is true also of the government—one strong motive behind the tariff policy has been a hope that discrimination against American goods would promote in the States a movement in favour of an arrangement which would

* Except such articles as spirits, wines, beer, tobacco. All important British possessions, except the Commonwealth of Australia, are now admitted to the preferential tariff. By the Tariff Act of 1907 it is required that goods must be imported direct from a British country to enjoy the benefit of the preference. Formerly, importations through the United States were admitted under the preference on proof of British origin.

give to each country freer access to the markets of the other. This is not the place to go into the details of the early history of reciprocity between Canada and the United States. Briefly, under the treaty of 1854—entered into at a time when the Democratic party, which proclaimed principles of absolute and universal free trade, was in power at Washington—most of the natural products of the American continent (but no manufactures, except butter) crossed the line in both directions free of duty. The Canadians thought, and still think, that the operation of this treaty was highly favourable to the other party as well as to themselves. The Americans did not think so. At all events, they gave the notice required by the terms of the treaty at the earliest possible moment, and it was abrogated in 1866.

Canada was opposed to the abrogation, and her statesmen have often expressed a wish that a fresh arrangement on similar lines might be made. According to a recent statement by a former member of Sir Wilfrid's cabinet, the Dominion has offered reciprocity to her neighbour thirteen times, and has in each case been rebuffed. The statement is an exaggeration. With one exception every direct proposition in the direction of reciprocity, coming from Canada, was an offer to renew the old rejected treaty covering natural products only. Most of the so-called propositions were unofficial and vague—such as clauses in Canadian Tariff Acts—which were followed by no diplomatic action. The single exception was an offer of reciprocity by Canada in 1874. A draft of a treaty was presented to the State Department at Washington—not agreed upon by the plenipotentiaries of the two countries—and was sent to the Senate by President Grant. It was never acted upon by the Senate. It made free of duty natural products and a short list of manufactures in which Great Britain could not well be a competitor. But coupled with the tariff agreement was a provision that vessels built in either country should be admitted free and entitled to registry in the importing country. That provision alone would have rendered any treaty unacceptable to the United States which, from the very beginning, has opposed a free-ships policy.

It was not until 1897 that Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced his preferential policy. Canadian trade with the United Kingdom was then in a bad way. Indeed, the whole trade of the Dominion had been almost stationary for a quarter of a century.

Imports had actually diminished, their value in 1896 being ten million dollars less than in 1873. In the interval, they had declined and recovered. The importations from the United Kingdom were less in value in the three years 1894-96, inclusive, than in any previous consecutive three years since the establishment of the Confederation. As we are comparing the importations of goods from the United Kingdom and from the United States, it is well to set out in tabular form the gross value of imports from the two countries starting from the year 1873—the first year for which separate values are given—down to the adoption of the preferential tariff, and also subsequently to that event :

DOMINION OF CANADA.

VALUE OF GOODS ENTERED FOR CONSUMPTION.

Yearly average.	From the United Kingdom.	From the United States.
	\$	\$
1873-77	54,451,000	50,042,000
1878-82	39,413,000	41,342,000
1883-87	44,488,000	48,728,000
1888-92	41,680,000	51,627,000
1893-97	35,078,000	57,223,000

The value of importations, since the preferential policy was adopted, is shown in the following table :

Yearly average.	From the United Kingdom.	From the United States.
	\$	\$
1898-1900	38,115,000	93,886,000
1901-03	50,376,000	122,966,000
1904-06	60,438,000	163,142,000
1907-09*	85,900,000	198,771,000
Year.		
1910	95,350,000	223,502,000
1911	109,936,000	284,935,000
1912	116,907,000	356,354,000

* In 1907 the date for ending the fiscal year was changed from June 30 to March 31, so that the figures for that year are for nine months only. Allowance has been made for this in calculating the average.

It will be seen that the importations from the United Kingdom have increased during the period that preference has been in operation by the considerable sum of \$78,792,000 ; or at the rate of 207 per cent. At the same time the importations from the United States have increased by the much larger sum of \$262,468,000, and even at a more rapid rate, namely, 279 per cent.

Leaving comparisons aside for the moment, these figures are an index of the wonderful growth and the exceeding prosperity of Canada in recent years. The territorial expansion, the industrial progress, and the outburst of national sentiment, are all incidents or corollaries of the growth in wealth and power, which will form a tempting subject for the future Canadian historian. But from the point of view of present politics, the fact we have to deal with is that, during the very period when the Dominion was endeavouring to encourage importations from the mother country, the larger portion of the increase in Canadian imports came from the United States, in spite of the tariff ban upon American goods. We have to inquire into the causes of this phenomenon, which on the surface seems to contradict some of the orthodox principles of political economy.

At the outset, it is necessary to note that statements based upon the gross value of the import trade can easily be misleading. For example, if it were to appear that the importations from the United States consisted chiefly of goods admitted free of duty, or of goods not under the preferential tariff, the comparison would be valueless. It is therefore necessary to study the returns in detail to ascertain the truth. Such study is not easy, for although the Canadian reports leave nothing to be desired in the way of fullness, they are not summarised in a form available for our present inquiry.*

As it would be manifestly misleading to include all importa-

* Each annual volume gives nearly 350 pages of detail, and the items are arranged in alphabetical order, without a separation of articles entitled to the preferential rate from those assessed under the general tariff. In order to ascertain the facts relative to the aggregate value of iron and steel imports from the two countries respectively in the two years to be compared, it is necessary to make four additions of nearly one hundred and fifty separate items. Similar, although not so laborious, processes are required to obtain the aggregate figures for many other classes of goods, such as the various textiles, drugs, chemicals, and glassware.

tions in such an inquiry as we are about to make, so it would be equally misleading to include those articles in which the United States has such an unquestionable advantage that Great Britain could not compete successfully even if her products were altogether duty-free, while those from the adjacent republic were taxed. Accordingly, a considerable number of classes of merchandise are wholly excluded from the following tables. The leading classes so omitted are breadstuffs, meats,* fish; marble, bricks, and tiles; mineral substances n.o.p.,† oils; carriages and parts, and wood manufactures. By excluding these classes of merchandise, we limit the inquiry to those upon which the preferential tariff is operative.

One further explanation is necessary before we proceed to examine the returns. In the comparisons that follow, the figures given are those of total importations from each country during the fiscal years 1902 and 1912. But the preferential tariff is operative not upon all importations from the United Kingdom, but only upon 'goods, the produce or manufacture of British countries, when imported direct from any British country.' ‡ It would not be practicable, without an excessive amount of labour, to separate in each case the goods of British origin from the total importations from the United Kingdom; and for present purposes it is not necessary, since the comparison of *all* imports from the United States with *all* imports of the same classes from the United Kingdom results in crediting the United Kingdom with a larger share of trade than would be credited to her if the exact figures were available. There is a further point to be noted for the sake of accuracy, namely, the difference between total imports and imports entered for consumption. But this also is a minor matter, for in 1912 the

* Breadstuffs and meats are omitted, although in prepared foods from grain and in canned meats and meat extracts Canada imported rather more from the United Kingdom than from the United States; but the total value of such exceptional classes from both countries in 1912 was less than a million and a half dollars; whereas in all other classes of breadstuffs and meats the importations from the United Kingdom were less than \$200,000 and those from the United States more than \$9,500,000.

† Not otherwise provided for.

Canadian Tariff Act of 1907.

total value of dutiable goods imported was \$343,000,000, of which \$335,000,000 were entered for consumption.

We have now to compare the value of the importations from the two countries after deduction has been made of the classes of goods mentioned above—namely, breadstuffs, meats, etc. These deductions, which are necessary for a true comparison, still leave under review the greater part of the dutiable imports, for in 1911-12 the total of dutiable imports from the United Kingdom into Canada was \$89,828,419 compared with a total of \$67,185,010 brought under review in the following 'detailed tables.' Our comparison starts with the year 1901-02, when the full preference of 33½ per cent. came into operation, and goes down to the end of the fiscal year 1911-12. The total values covered by the detailed tables are :

IMPORTS OF COMPARABLE CLASSES.

Year.	From the United Kingdom.	From the United States.
	\$	\$
1901-02 .	28,212,636	30,616,552
1911-12 .	67,185,010	116,454,967

It will be seen that the percentage of increase in ten years was 138 in the case of the United Kingdom, and 280 in that of the United States ; while the actual increase was \$39,000,000 and \$86,000,000 from the two countries respectively.

Even if our inquiry were to go no further it would be evident from these figures that the preferential tariff has not been successful in overcoming a plainly expressed personal preference on the part of Canadians for American goods. But when the importations are studied in detail, we shall be able to suggest a plausible explanation of the somewhat startling fact that Canadians prefer, as a rule, to buy American goods rather than British in spite of the lower rate of duty on the latter.

The facts regarding all the articles covered by the preferential tariff could not be presented without an appalling array of figures. But all the lessons which could be derived from a complete table may be equally well drawn from two selected lists of articles—not all of them necessarily articles of large consumption. We will take, first, classes of goods in which the United States is pre-eminent ; and, secondly, those in which

Great Britain dominates the market.* In the first-mentioned class are these :

Imports in which America leads.	From the United Kingdom.		From the United States.	
	1901-02	1911-12	1901-02	1911-12
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Books and printed matter	238,296	1,057,186	1,024,475	2,966,179
Boots and shoes	48,431	480,405	834,002	2,529,676
Brass manufactures	54,273	253,652	432,206	1,484,266
Brushes	19,251	76,486	91,351	217,444
Buttons	35,778	107,909	68,579	311,592
Clocks and parts	12,325	41,480	197,948	366,190
Electric apparatus	12,470	543,982	918,637	4,012,873
Furniture	18,354	199,569	443,308	1,479,452
Iron and steel manufactures	4,775,202	10,238,982	18,210,275	78,715,725
Jewellery	69,413	397,983	519,403	1,015,490
Miscellaneous metals and manufactures	105,959	701,618	732,288	3,433,452
Musical instruments	8,130	74,305	320,346	1,191,946
Optical goods	1,034	230,734	185,446	924,908
Paper manufactures	360,154	1,513,356	1,473,760	4,150,270
Pocket-books	26,364	74,086	81,069	404,690
Soap	37,967	117,224	228,344	822,852
Watches and parts	12,618	120,808	575,654	912,221
	5,836,019	16,229,765	26,337,091	104,939,226

The heading 'Iron and steel manufactures,' which is much the largest in the foregoing table, comprises a vast variety of articles, and it is worth while to pick out a few that exhibit in a marked degree the tendency which we are now considering :

Some imported iron and steel manufactures.	From the United Kingdom.		From the United States.	
	1901-02	1911-12	1901-02	1911-12
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Agricultural implements	20,107	58,273	2,634,294	4,181,751
Butts and hinges	295	1,439	28,928	107,480
Hardware	58,377	78,522	593,443	640,826
Locks	7,983	23,265	137,007	449,073
Machinery	322,241	2,445,057	4,199,555	32,149,438
Scales and balances	2,227	5,792	100,775	146,525
Tools	56,249	77,220	811,434	1,063,817
Typewriters	15	1,477	130,196	973,235

* See pp. 1-413 of part ii. of the Report of the Department of Customs for 1911-12, and pp. 1-261 of part ii. of the Trade and Navigation Report for 1901-02.

Among the classes of goods that have come into sufficient prominence during the last ten years to be taken out of the classification 'n.o.p.' may be mentioned gasolene (paraffin) engines, the importation of which in 1912 from the two countries was valued at \$127,985 and \$2,069,655 respectively; and automobiles—included above with machinery—not separately reported in 1901-02, \$347,110 and \$6,077,497 respectively.

Let us now turn to the other side of the story; for there is another side, as may be seen from the following table containing a list of articles in which Great Britain has never suffered the Americans to obtain a large share of the trade:

Imports in which Britain leads.	From the United Kingdom.		From the United States.	
	1901-02.	1911-12.	1901-02.	1911-12.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
China and earthenware	684,912	1,561,827	241,135	422,930
Fancy goods . . .	1,058,683	1,679,933	389,990	957,938
Gloves	199,590	767,064	56,117	337,170
Hats and caps . . .	843,429	2,133,107	872,598	1,501,909
Lead manufactures .	119,995	615,465	68,717	127,665
Textiles	19,279,711	43,571,582	2,614,752	8,099,840
Tobacco pipes . . .	129,212	550,535	27,315	53,338
Umbrellas	60,785	75,732	8,837	14,951
	22,376,317	50,955,245	4,279,461	11,515,741

Although the above is a short list, it includes most of the articles in which the United Kingdom retains a considerable preponderance of the trade. The largest class by far is that of textiles, and in every department of that trade the superiority of Britain is overwhelming, as the following statement will show:

Textile imports into Canada.	From the United Kingdom.		From the United States.	
	1901-02.	1911-12.	1901-02.	1911-12.
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Cotton manufactures .	5,045,803	13,637,368	1,532,885	5,704,680
Flax, hemp, and jute manufactures. . .	1,778,752	2,829,188	82,605	202,609
Silk manufactures . .	1,929,293	2,983,653	202,624	925,050
Wool manufactures . .	7,823,547	19,097,817	344,852	1,121,186
Carpets and rugs . . .	1,174,050	2,078,655	11,855	58,611
Curtains	332,352	536,592	69,238	83,623
Ribbons	517,067	460,633	48,781	137,396
Other*	678,847	1,947,676	321,912	766,685
	19,279,711	43,571,582	2,614,752	8,999,840

* Includes oiled silk, webbing and elastic, knitted goods (not clothing), boot and shoe lacings, mackintosh cloth prepared, crapes, stockinettes, and twine.

In addition to the classes of goods above mentioned, there are certain special articles in which Britain leads. Thus, although the United States has more than four-fifths of the total iron and steel imports into the Dominion, the Canadians greatly prefer British cutlery. They imported in 1911-12 cutlery to the value of \$560,342 from the United Kingdom, as against \$206,755 from the United States. This preference is easily understood; but what explanation is to be given of a preference to the extent of four-fifths for British cast-iron pipes? Again, although the total importation of glass and glassware from the United States slightly exceeded that from the United Kingdom, in the special case of window-glass and plate-glass nearly nine-tenths of the imports were British. On the other hand, bottles, table ware, lamp chimneys, and miscellaneous glass ware were imported almost exclusively from the United States. These exceptions appear freakish, as does also the fact that Canada imports more than five times as great a value of lead manufactures from the United Kingdom as from the United States, although the latter mines fifteen times as much lead as the British Isles produce.

There is one striking anomaly on the other side. Of the cotton goods imported from the two countries, England sends 70 per cent. Yet an examination of the imports in detail shows the following exceptional items:

Some cotton imports.	From the United Kingdom.		From the United States.	
	1901-02	1911-12	1901-02	1911-12
	\$	\$	\$	\$
Clothing .	114,733	770,281	213,646	1,507,186
Blouses .	444	21,562	14,455	120,437
Shirts . .	30,557	195,001	38,695	263,650
Corsets. .	2,129	16,865	86,177	465,169

Moreover, although Great Britain furnishes 94 per cent. of the imports of woollen goods from the two countries, the United States sent into Canada in 1912 woollen and worsted clothing to the value of \$737,237, against \$1,185,268 from the United Kingdom. Again, the American contribution of silk clothing was two-thirds as great as the British; although of silk goods, as a whole, the British proportion was three-fourths.

In the calendar year 1912, according to the British Board of Trade Returns, the exports from the United Kingdom to Canada reached the high figure of £23,500,000. The only other overseas countries buying more than this from the United Kingdom were, in the order named, India (£57,600,000), Germany (£40,400,000), Australia (£34,900,000), United States (£30,100,000), and France (£25,600,000). Canada's position as a customer of the United States is even higher, for the only countries which buy more from America than Canada does are the United Kingdom and Germany. The importance of the Canadian market both to Great Britain and to the United States is therefore beyond dispute. Equally beyond dispute is the fact that the Canadian tariff has not accomplished its primary purpose of giving a larger share of the import trade to the mother country. The rate of increase of Great Britain in the growing commerce of the Dominion is not much greater than that of France, Germany, and several other countries; while, as we have seen, it is far below that of the United States, against which the tariff is incidentally aimed. Nor has Canada's loyalty to the Crown and the outburst of antagonism toward her neighbour on the south made the slightest change in the trade tendency. No Canadian statistics later than the close of the fiscal year 1911-12 are yet available; but the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has kindly furnished an advance statement of the exports from that country to Canada during the calendar year 1912. The total value was \$376,162,489, as against \$299,100,457 in 1911, and \$242,209,233 in 1910—an increase of 25·7 per cent. in one year (a full year since the rejection of reciprocity), and of 55·3 per cent. in two years.

What, then, is the explanation of the refusal of the people of Canada to back up by individual action the policy which they approve on the part of their government—a policy which offers them a money inducement to trade within the Empire? Due allowance should be made, of course, for the proximity of the markets in which they manifest a disposition to seek supply of their wants, resulting in cheaper freights on heavy goods, and quick delivery, where that is essential. But it appears that the preference accorded to British goods amounts on the average to 8 per cent. of the value of the goods

themselves,* which is far in excess of any advantage that would arise from nearness of market. Moreover, the reputation of British workmanship precludes the suggestion that American goods are preferred on account of their superiority; and the handicap of the American protective tariff likewise renders it improbable that Canadians shun British manufactures by reason of the higher price of British wares.

Does not the true explanation of the matter lie in the fact, already emphasised, that the two peoples of the American continent are very much alike in tastes, habits, and tendencies? If we recur to the statistical tables, we shall find much to support the theory and little or nothing to contradict it. For the seeming contradictions merely indicate certain habits peculiar to the Canadians, which are strong enough to modify the influence of the similarity between the two peoples. Have not the writers on political economy laid too little stress upon the power of habit? Is not that factor often sufficient to overcome the temptation to buy in the cheapest market? It will be discovered, upon an examination of the table showing the articles in which the United States is predominant, that most of the minor items suggest personal use. Men and women so closely associated in a hundred ways as are Canadians and Americans, naturally buy similar things when they are selecting such articles as buttons, brushes, eye-glasses, pocket-books, jewellery, boots and shoes, soap, furniture, pianos, lamps, hardware, locks, and carpenters' tools. Supposing the price of these articles in London and New York to be the same, in hardly any case would the price of the British article be enhanced through extra cost of carriage by even half of the 8 per cent. advantage given to it by the preferential tariff; and in no case would the matter of early delivery count for much. Of course it is open to Englishmen to contend that the real reason for the preference for American-made goods is that they are cheaper because not so well or so strongly made; but that argument does not in the least contradict the theory that the Canadian buys American goods because he prefers them to

* Value of goods paying duty under the general tariff, 1911-12, \$233,104,531; duty paid, \$66,283,746; average, 28.43 per cent. Under the preferential tariff value of goods, \$88,058,830; duty paid, \$18,018,718; average, 20.45 per cent. (Returns for 1912, p. 344.)

English goods, and he prefers them because his tastes and habits are identical with American tastes and habits.

Attention has already been called to the fact that the liking for the same things extends to the clothing of the people. When buying textiles in the piece, Canada obtains nearly all her requirements from England or the European continent. But when made-up clothing is to be imported, a generous share of the orders goes to the States. Practically all the corsets that Canadian women obtain from abroad are imported from the States ; and two-thirds of the cotton clothing imported is of American origin. So far as wool, silk, and linen fabrics are concerned, the price of American woven goods is so greatly above the price of similar fabrics from across the sea, that a huge preferential tariff in favour of the United States would be required to help the American market. The case is somewhat different with respect to cotton. Lancashire and Massachusetts are on fairly equal terms as regards the cost of raw material ; their spinning and weaving are performed on practically identical machines, run at the same speed ; and whatever disadvantage there may be from the higher cost of labour in the States and the higher cost of building and equipping a mill is partially offset by the advantage of nearness to the Canadian markets. Thus the conditions for competition are not very unfavourable to the Americans, and one would expect that they would have made inroads upon the British monopoly of the Canadian market for cotton piece goods ; but they have not. During several years of the last decade the export of cotton goods from the United States to Canada showed a decrease. Within the last three years it has recovered somewhat, but the Canadian import of plain fabrics from the States has only a little more than doubled in ten years, and it was small at the beginning of the period. Whatever quality and price have had to do with this situation (and they may have had much), habit—the fact that Canadian women know and like the brands of English goods—undoubtedly enters into the case. The vicious system under which American textile goods are sold should also be mentioned. American manufacturers in other departments are enterprising in seeking foreign markets, but the products of the textile mills are disposed of by ‘selling agents,’ who have no inducement to look abroad for customers.

The theory here presented is capable of fuller development, and it might be supported by numerous further illustrations, if that were necessary ; but as it seems the only plausible explanation of a trade phenomenon that is nowhere else to be seen on a large scale, it may rest here until some other explanation is proposed. If it be correct and defensible it is of commanding importance in the consideration of Imperial preference and of reciprocity—the two political proposals in connexion with the Canadian trade which are of interest to Great Britain and the United States respectively. For if the Canadian preferential tariff does not secure any substantial advantage in the way of trade to the mother country, there is no inducement on the score of gratitude to respond with a reciprocal British preference in favour of Canadian foodstuffs. To be sure, such a measure would be to the advantage of Canada, who would be enabled to sell a commodity in universal demand cheaper than her competitors. But if loyalty to the Empire—recently developed with great intensity—does not divert merchants and consumers from the United States to Great Britain, it is not reasonable to expect that the people of Halifax and Montreal will turn with greater favour to British wares because the farmers of Saskatchewan are getting a better price for their wheat.

On the other hand, what inducement does the situation offer to the government and people of the United States to change their policy and their laws to secure the Canadian trade ? That policy may be right or wrong in itself ; but so far as Canada needs any of the manufactured goods America has to sell—except textiles, window-glass, earthenware, and a few other articles—the Americans have the trade already : not the whole of it, but by far the largest share, and as much as they could hope for under any conditions. As a matter of fact the Americans are not anxious for reciprocity, a majority of them are not in favour of it at all, nor are they worrying about the Canadian trade. Although the agreement of 1911 was ratified by Congress it was not popular in the country. A few manufacturers favoured it, not being aware of the true situation with respect to the import trade of Canada ; but the rest of the support which the agreement received came from those—many in number, but still a minority of the whole people—who are endeavouring to break down the protective

policy as a political system. The majority of the manufacturers were opposed to the measure, and the feeling of the farmers of the country was practically unanimous against it. In fact, the opposition of the farmers was one of the most potent factors in the overwhelming defeat of President Taft for re-election. When Canada rejected the agreement by turning out the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, not a murmur of disappointment was heard in the States, save in political circles. If the theory here presented can be maintained, the reciprocity agreement would have proved almost as negligible in its effects as the preferential tariff. It would not have helped any considerable number of American manufacturers, nor would it have hurt any considerable number of Canadians. As far as can be seen the main effect would have been to facilitate the export of foodstuffs from Western Canada to the Western States of America, but it is improbable that such exports would have been extensive enough to make any appreciable difference to the British consumer. This, at any rate, is the view of an American observer who is not unfriendly either to Canada or to Great Britain, and whose only interest is to arrive at the truth.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

OCTAVIA HILL AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

1. *Practical Housing.* By J. S. NETTLEFOLD. Letchworth : Garden City Press. 1908.
2. *Homes of the London Poor.* By OCTAVIA HILL. Macmillan. 1883.
3. *Our Common Land.* By OCTAVIA HILL. Macmillan. 1877.
4. *Letters to Fellow Workers, 1872-1911.* Printed for private circulation.

WHEN a great man dies it is always a matter for consideration whether his work has been so far dependent on his personality that it will die with him, or whether it has been built on such a foundation of sound principle that its permanence may be regarded as assured, subject to the changing needs of each day and generation. In the case of Octavia Hill there can be little question that though her work was intensely personal it was founded on principles of proved value, and that it will be of service to many generations yet to come that perhaps will not even know her name. It was as early as 1864 that Miss Hill made her first experiment in the management of houses for working people. She owed much to Ruskin. At the annual meeting in November last of the Edinburgh Social Union—a body that came into being to carry out Miss Hill's ideas—a charming story was told of his influence upon her life. For several years as a girl she studied painting under his tuition, and at last put all her soul and knowledge into a picture which she fondly hoped would prove her capacity to become one day a great painter. When she showed it to Ruskin he turned to her, and with a frankness which was the truest kindness said 'It is very pretty, but 'you'll never paint.' When telling this story herself, as she often did in later years, Miss Hill invariably added 'But Ruskin found me work I would rather do than paint like 'Leonardo.'

It was Ruskin who supplied her with the necessary capital for her first experiment, and took all the risk ; and it was he who first instilled into her mind the principles on which her success was based. He pointed out that the

results of the experiment would be much more fruitful if it could be made to pay. If it were proved that money invested in good houses for the working class would yield a fair percentage on capital, more capital would be forthcoming, and the experiment could be extended indefinitely. Inspired by this teaching, Miss Hill set to work to prove, and succeeded in proving, that houses for working people could be kept in reasonable repair and made healthy and comfortable, and still yield a fair rate of interest on the capital invested. In November 1866 she contributed to the 'Fortnightly Review' an article describing her first experiment in acquiring houses and managing them on intelligent and human principles. Ruskin, as already mentioned, provided all the necessary money and took the whole financial risk upon himself. The houses chosen for the experiment were well built, but 'in a dreadful state of dirt and neglect':

'The place swarmed with vermin; the papers, black with dirt, hung in long strips from the walls; the drains were stopped, the water supply out of order. All these things were put in order, but no new appliances of any kind were added, as we had determined that our tenants should wait for these until they had proved themselves capable of taking care of them.'

In order to stimulate the tenants to take care of their houses a regular sum was set aside for repairs, and if at the end of the quarter the whole of this had not been spent, the tenants in turn decided how the surplus should be expended on improvements. This plan, initiated by Octavia Hill in three small houses in 1864, is now in operation upon numbers of estates housing thousands of people. A further and more fundamental principle laid down by Octavia Hill was the necessity for absolute punctuality in the payment of rent. To many people such a rule will at first sight appear harsh and even impossible of application, but the experience of now nearly half a century has proved its wisdom. Writing on the effect of this apparently harsh principle, Octavia Hill says in the article just quoted:

'Nothing has impressed me more than the people's perception of an underlying current of sympathy through all dealings that have seemed harsh. Somehow, love and care have made themselves felt. It is also wonderful that they should prize as they do the evenness of the law that is over them. They are accustomed to

alternate violence of passion and toleration of vice. They expected a greater toleration, ignorant indulgence, and frequent almsgiving, but in spite of this have recognised as a blessing a rule which is very strict, but the demands of which they know, and a government that is true in word and deed.'

Elsewhere she relates how on one occasion she was talking on the subject to a working man, and expected him to plead that her insistence on ready money was hard ; instead, he answered : ' Yes, I know it is best. You see, they do say money is the ' root of all evil, but I often think credit beats it.'

The financial success of this first experiment was remarkable. After the plan had been in operation for a year and a half the net returns sufficed to pay interest at 5 per cent. on all the capital raised and to repay £48 of the capital. Encouraged by this success, Octavia Hill pressed on with her work. Friends interested in the movement came forward to buy houses and place them under her management. At the same time persons who already owned property of a poor character invited her to manage it for them, feeling confident that she would enable them to get a reasonable percentage on their capital and at the same time would care for the physical and moral well-being of their tenants. In every case one of her very first reforms was to insist upon punctual payment of the rent. Writing in 1869 * she describes a property of the very worst type that she had recently taken over :

' The arrears of rent were enormous. I had been informed that the honest habitually pay for the dishonest, the owner relying upon their payments to compensate for all losses ; but I was amazed to find to what an extent this was the case. Six, seven, or eight weeks' rent was due from most tenants, and in some cases very much more ; whereas, since I took possession of the houses (of which I collect the rents each week myself) I have *never* allowed a second week's rent to become due.'

By thus insisting on a sound financial basis she obtained the money with which to carry out necessary repairs and gradually to effect extensive improvements. Her decision to devote herself rather to the management of old houses than to the building of new ones was the result of careful reflection. It is often said that bad housing conditions are due to the dirty, destructive, and improvident habits of the people. To a

* ' Macmillan's Magazine.'

certain extent that is true; but Miss Hill believed that the very poor could be educated to appreciate the value of personal and household cleanliness, and be roused to a sense of their obligations not only to the landlord but to the community at large. Writing in 1883 in one of those delightful 'Letters to my Fellow Workers' which she issued year by year for private circulation, Miss Hill fully explained her policy:

'If a court is taken over full of its old inhabitants there are some among them who have the opportunity of being raised in and with it, who never could have such an opportunity in any new buildings. In letting to new tenants one must ask for good references; the drunkard, the dirty, thriftless woman, is rarely accepted, cannot be accepted; the poor may indeed be received, but not those whose character is doubtful; the preference is fairly and rightly given to the sober, industrious, and clean. But buy up, or take over, a court full of the less hopeful tenants, and it becomes your duty to try them; some of them always respond to the better influences, and are permanently raised. In old houses, moreover, unsatisfactory tenants can be tested much more easily; there is no risk of their destroying expensive appliances, they can be encouraged by the gradual improvement in proportion to their own care of the places they are in. In new houses nothing is to be gained by tenants by their care, for nothing is to be added, while much may be lost by their carelessness. In old houses the reverse is the case: the fresh distemper, the mended grate, the new cupboard can be offered as a reward for care, while one or two more banisters broken or burnt are not a very serious loss to the landlord.'

The above statement gives the clue to the special work which has made Octavia Hill's name famous throughout the kingdom and revered by all who have been brought under her influence, direct or indirect. She realised, as so few reformers even now seem to be able to realise, that the progress of mankind depends far more on the improvement of the individual than on the variation of institutions. How true this doctrine is as applied to the housing problem, all persons who have practical experience in the housing of the poor are fully aware.

Writing in 1908 Mr. J. S. Nettlefold, whose splendid work in improving housing conditions in Birmingham is widely known, says:

'Miss Hill's principles of patience, caution, and self-help have undoubtedly succeeded where the attempt to do everything at once has utterly failed. It is only necessary to inspect the London County Council's barracks, and then Miss Hill's happy homes, in order to

see that she has succeeded where the slap-dash municipal house-builder, who sets to work without first thinking out general principles, has utterly failed.'

A more detailed illustration of the soundness of Octavia Hill's principles is furnished by the following very pertinent passage from the report of the Medical Officer of Health for the Borough of Kensington for the year 1911 :

'The state of cleanliness or filthiness in which rooms are kept bears a much closer relationship to the character of the occupiers than to the nature of the accommodation provided. In certain blocks of dwellings, where each family has a separate w.c. and where water is laid on to each floor, tenements are frequently found on inspection to be kept in a disgraceful state of domestic uncleanness. Temporary improvement follows the service of notices ; but no permanent change for the better is likely to be effected except through the education of the poorest classes in the elementary principles of cleanly living.'

Knowing and feeling the truth of such statements as the above, Octavia Hill insisted before all things on personal reformation. With a happy touch in one of her articles * she says : ' All the punctual collection of dust in the world won't ' do so much for the house as the habit of burning the pea-pods ' and cabbage-stalks.' In the same article she protests against the ' stupendous mass of legislation having for its object the ' amelioration of the condition of the people.'

Yet she was in no sense one-sided. She saw that there are social difficulties that cannot be removed by individual effort only, but require the coercive power or the pecuniary resources of the community as a whole. Thus we find her as early as 1874 strongly advocating wise legislation to deal with the problem of overcrowded areas. The evil of having too many people housed on a limited space had grown up early in the nineteenth century. Owing to the industrial revolution workers flocked to the towns ; room had to be found for this increase of population ; houses which had been built for one family came to be let in tenements, very often with a family in each room and several families in one house. In addition to this, new houses were erected on what had been the yards and gardens of older houses, and out of this practice

* ' Nineteenth Century,' August 1891.

whole districts grew up with tenements on both sides of the street, approached by a narrow passage or archway. Little light or air could penetrate ; there was rarely any yard accommodation, and in many cases no sanitary convenience. An Act had been passed for Scotland to enable the city of Glasgow to do away with these tenements, which were the resorts of thieves and other criminals. After it had been put into operation Octavia Hill visited Glasgow and saw the great improvement effected by the demolition of many of these ' wynds.' She also learned that, although power had been given to the city to rebuild for the benefit of the persons displaced, this power had not been used, as the building of new houses by private enterprise had more than kept pace with the removal of the old houses. Impressed by her experiences in Glasgow, Miss Hill worked in co-operation with others to get similar powers for London, and largely as the result of these efforts three Acts, known as the Cross Acts, were passed in 1875, 1879, and 1882 respectively.

Meanwhile her own particular work, the management of houses, was steadily growing. Offers of capital wherewith to buy houses were continually made to her ; but the difficulty was to find a sufficient number of ladies able and willing to be trained and to undertake the work. It must be understood that there were not then so many agencies at work amongst the poor as at present, nor were there so many women engaged in any form of social work. Consequently in these early days the collector had to deal single-handed with many difficulties in which she can now have cordial co-operation from women workers in other fields of activity.

As a result of the Cross Acts many sites were cleared, and companies and private builders built large blocks to house the people displaced. For many of these Octavia Hill was asked to recommend ladies to help in the management, and this she did. She recognised the necessity of re-housing the people within reasonable distance of their work, and saw the value on that account of blocks, though she also saw their evils. After building some blocks in Marylebone, she writes : ' If ever we rebuild the rest of the court, it may be well to rebuild it as separate houses, not as a block ; it is not good to concentrate too large a population on a small area.'

In 1884 Miss Hill was invited to give evidence before the

Royal Commission on Housing, and was one of the most important witnesses called. In the same year she was asked to manage a considerable property in Southwark for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The leases on this property had just fallen in, and the Commissioners, who had previously—owing to the vicious system of leases on lives—been unable to deal with it, now obtained control. The houses were in a very bad condition: many of the drains were built of bricks, or trunks of trees split and hollowed out: the water-butts had no covers and the cesspools were unemptied. The first step was promptly to put the drains in order and provide a proper water supply. But it was found that many of the houses were structurally so bad that they had to be pulled down. The Commissioners began by letting the sites cleared on lease to responsible companies for the erection of workmen's dwellings in order to re-house the tenants displaced. Subsequently they granted to Octavia Hill and a body of trustees one site for the erection of a hall, and another near it at a nominal rent for an open space. Near these they granted some land to the same trustees for an experiment strongly urged upon them by Miss Hill, namely the erection of two-storeyed cottages.

Her argument was that if sites were chosen away from main thoroughfares—'back land' as it might be called—two-storeyed cottages could be built at a profit, and, if so, ought to be built, because of the many advantages they offer as compared with the great barracks so often erected for the housing of the working classes. She gave effect to her ideas by investing in the building of these two-storeyed cottages the money which friends had given her for the endowment of the hall. The cottages were built in the heart of a very crowded district, where sites were expensive, but they proved so great a success that the example was followed by other people. She writes: 'Encouraged by the satisfactory results of these cottages, I suggested to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners that they should themselves build similar cottages on their ground in Southwark. They met my suggestion most cordially, and after careful thought decided to build nine new cottages.' She recognised that the new cottages were expensive, and could only be occupied by well-to-do working people; but her experience had taught her that in this class there was a distinct demand for

sanitary and comfortable cottages which ought, if possible, to be satisfied.

At the same time she was even more emphatic on the importance of preserving old cottages wherever, by patching up, they could be made habitable. This is a point which is far too much neglected by modern reformers, who are so eager to make something new that they condemn to destruction quite serviceable old houses which could be let at a low rent, and build instead some spick-and-span atrocity which costs more for a remunerative rent than the poorest classes can possibly afford to pay. Miss Hill, writing in 1896 to her fellow workers, says :

‘ Old cottages are of immense value to the poor, and the longer they can be preserved the better. They are quite irreplaceable. No one now can, under present conditions and cost of building, give to the poor anything like the amount of home peace, comfort, and accommodation at so small a cost. The old cottages look shabby, and those who do not know the life of the people object to owning them, and they are looked upon without favour ; but well managed, and essentials secured, they are an inestimable boon to those who live there, and every one that can be preserved, with security for health, should be jealously guarded.’

Recognising the soundness of these views the Ecclesiastical Commissioners continue to retain, wherever possible, their old cottages, as advocated by Octavia Hill. They have also carried out her policy with regard to new cottages, and in building houses for working people in other parts of London as leases fell in they have always built a considerable number of cottages of two storeys, while their tenements are never more than three storeys high. The property is still managed by ladies trained under Octavia Hill. In all these directions her influence has produced practical and enduring results on a very extensive scale.

As the outcome of her practical experience, Octavia Hill realised at an early date that for the maintenance of healthy life open space is needed as well as decent house-room.

Writing in the seventies she says :

‘ There are two great wants in the life of the poor of our large towns which ought to be realised more than they are : the want of space and the want of beauty. It is true that we have begun to see that a whole family living in one room is very crowded, and we have been for some years well aware that it would be a good thing

if we could manage so to build that a working man could pay for two or even three rooms ; it is true that we have learned that the extreme narrowness of our courts and alleys, and the tiny spaces, often only four or five feet square, called by courtesy yards, which are to be found at the back of many of the houses filled with families of the poor, appear to us insufficient. There is a way in which some compensation for this evil may be provided—I mean the provision of small open spaces, planted and made pretty, quite near the houses of the people, which might be used by them in common as sitting-rooms in the summer. Even in England there are a good many days when at some hours sitting out of doors is refreshing ; and when very hot days do come, it seems almost a necessity. In these gardens, near to their own homes, and therefore easily accessible to the old and feeble, they might sit quietly under trees ; there the tiny children might play on gravel or grass with a sense of Mother Earth beneath them.'

To this work of obtaining open spaces Miss Hill devoted much of her energy to the end of her life. She called it the complement of her housing work. Whenever any houses came into her hands, she always looked to see if it were possible to make an open space. But her ideas soon spread beyond the provision of small gardens in the neighbourhood of the house. She saw too that a healthy community requires wide open spaces and free access to tracts of land where houses and streets, workshops and factories, have no part in the picture, and where urbanised man can for a moment forget his daily round and acquire fresh physical and mental vigour from the clear sky and the green grass, from the trees and flowers of his native land. For this reason she took an active part in the work of preserving commons and public footpaths, and she was one of the founders of the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty.

Of necessity her work, based upon personal experience and upon well-considered plans, frequently compelled her to criticise the proposals of politicians and others who, as always, were in a hurry to effect something sensational at once. About the end of the nineteenth century the housing question became very prominent. Sensational articles were published on overcrowding, and the cry of ' No room to live ' was heard on every side. Perhaps on this account, perhaps for other reasons, municipal building was resorted to. In Miss Hill's opinion this policy was a very short-sighted one. In 1898 she wrote : ' I deeply regret that the action of the L.C.C. with regard to

'the housing of the poor is stopping independent building on 'sound financial lines by the good companies. Thus it is unconsciously creating the evil it wishes to mitigate.' Again, in 1899, she wrote :

'The housing question is occupying the attention of many—of some who know little about it. It is a very grave one for all who do. I regret that the extension of their building by the good companies and good builders is paralysed by the windy talk about municipal building, which so cuts off the healthy forms of supply. I see no hope of large, well-considered schemes for metropolitan building on a financial basis, which alone can supply the need, till municipal building is abandoned. The municipality cannot in my opinion be a good landlord to its own constituents. It is entirely checking the natural healthy development of independent schemes. . . . The most helpful scheme will be the increase of suburban building with good means of access.'

Since that time the means of transit have improved, and there is no longer great pressure for room in the centre of London. Electric trams, motor omnibuses, and railways take workers for long distances in a short space of time for very cheap fares. This has obviated the necessity for building large blocks to re-house those displaced by the necessary clearance schemes. What must now be guarded against is the creation of fresh slums in the suburbs, while perhaps even more urgent is the question of rural housing.

At present everyone is alive to the fact that housing in the country is in a very bad condition, and the remedy suggested is to supply new cottages for the village labourer by means of a grant from the national exchequer. If this is done, will it not mean supplying a certain number of people with houses at a non-commercial rent? Will it not be a reason for paying a lower rate of wage? Will it not be a rate-in-aid of wages very similar to the rate-in-aid which was granted to village labourers by the Poor Law before 1832? It is well that public opinion should be roused to the necessity for good houses: but if the Government and the local authorities will make building by-laws reasonably elastic, societies, companies or individuals will quickly provide all the houses that are wanted. In the long run nothing will be gained by public bodies building cottages at cheap rents subsidised by the rates and taxes.

From many points of view, the ideal to aim at is that everyone should own his own house, and co-operative societies and

building societies have already done much useful work towards the attainment of this ideal. But as a workman may have to move from one district to another if his work changes, it is most undesirable that he should put all his savings in a house which he may not be able either to sell or to look after. To meet this difficulty the system of co-partnership in housing was devised, and has been put into practice by the Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd. In this system every tenant must take some share in the company that builds the houses. These are let at ordinary rents, a moderate interest is paid on the capital, and the surplus profits are divided among the tenant-members in proportion to the rents paid by them. The advantages are very great. Each man instead of being sole owner of his own house is part-owner of many houses, including his own. He is induced to save by the excellence of the security offered, and he is induced to take care of his house in order to increase his share of the profits. For the same reason, it is to his interest to see that his neighbours look after their houses. The tenants are in fact both owners and managers of the property they occupy. If a tenant-partner wants to move to another district he can either realise his shares in the Society, or leave his savings where they are and he will receive the usual interest. This movement has spread in a remarkable manner, largely in consequence of the vigorous personality of Mr. Henry Vivian, the founder and organiser of the system.

More recently the Rural Co-partnership Society has been formed, and has already done excellent work in supplying very cheap houses where required in rural districts on the same principle as Co-partnership Tenants, Ltd. If such Societies were heartily supported, the need for labourers' cottages would be met on healthy and sound lines. With this co-partnership movement Octavia Hill was in hearty sympathy.

The question of the future development of the special work initiated by Octavia Hill largely depends on the number of workers entering the field and on how far they succeed in gaining the confidence of property owners. She herself, while fully grasping the larger aspects of the housing movement, always recognised that an important part of her pioneer work consisted in the training of other ladies to manage house property. 'House management' was the term always preferred by her to 'rent-collecting,' covering as it does the

multifarious duties involved in the relationship of landlord to tenant. She writes :

‘ I have tried as far as possible to enlist ladies who would have an idea how, by diligent attention to all business which devolves on a landlord ; by wise rule with regard to all duties which a tenant should fulfil ; by sympathetic and just decisions with a view to the common good, a high standard of management could be attained. Repairs promptly and efficiently attended to ; references carefully taken up ; cleaning sedulously supervised ; overcrowding put an end to ; the blessing of ready-money payments enforced ; accounts strictly kept ; and, above all, tenants so sorted as to be helpful to one another :—these and many other duties devolve on a lady who manages houses.’

There does not seem likely to be much difficulty in finding suitable workers now. From the beginning salaried and volunteer workers have worked side by side. The usual percentage is charged to the landlord for collecting the rents, and this money is used to pay the professional workers. The necessary salaries are therefore forthcoming, and, through the better education of women, more are fitted to enter this branch of professional work.

The houses which Octavia Hill managed were either those which had been bought by friends in order that she might have control of them, or houses belonging to private or public owners who believed that their obligations as landlords would be best fulfilled if the houses were entrusted to her management. It is in the latter direction that her work tended most to develop. Writing of the reasons for this change, she says :

‘ I have built much in the old days, as many a street and court bear witness, and I have lived near enough to the people to have realised early what kind of house they wanted, and what a variety ; and our houses now let incomparably better than others in their respective districts. But building never was what I felt our main duty. It was always the right government of the houses which I felt the greatest need. Almost the worst house, if the household be wisely managed, is better than ever so costly a one ill-managed.’

How true this is may be seen by anyone visiting the poorer neighbourhoods in the suburbs of London. Even a Garden City, if neglected, will begin to take on the appearance of a ‘ slum ’ after a very few years of occupancy. Everywhere round London these flimsy and pretentious little villas are being multiplied, and will rapidly become forlorn and disorderly

unless something of thoughtful rule be established over them. The huge blocks of flats still rising in the central districts equally need the presence of trustworthy leaders and humane government.

The spread of Octavia Hill's system of management of houses was so wide and far-reaching during her lifetime as quite to pass beyond her own immediate control. At the time of her death she supervised work of this kind in at least seven different boroughs in London ; in several others the work was being done on an independent footing. From many towns in England and Scotland ladies have come to London to be trained and have subsequently started work in their own towns. Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee have considerable groups of houses managed on Miss Hill's methods. About 1893 two ladies came from Holland to be trained, and on their return to Amsterdam created great enthusiasm for the work. It spread at once with remarkable rapidity, and nearly every year one or two students from the School of Sociology in Amsterdam have come to London for experience, and on their return to Holland have found owners or companies ready to place houses under their care. America and Sweden also have ladies working on the same plan.

The work of managing house property is specially suited to women. It is the wife who generally pays the rent, and that alone is a strong reason why a woman should collect it. A further reason is that women are more fully cognisant of household needs, and are familiar with what is required to make a house comfortable, while in their own houses they are accustomed to supervise details which to men often seem trivial, but are extremely important as regards the comfort and health of the occupiers. In this special work, women of the well-to-do classes can learn to know working people in an independent and natural way ; they will learn to know them in good times and bad, and will as friends help and be helped by them.

Modern social reformers are generally too impatient to be satisfied with the results of individual efforts at reform ; but the record of Octavia Hill's fifty years of work in this one direction alone shows how great are the reforms that can be achieved by the effort of a few individuals.

This is the lesson that she has given to the world ; and those

who knew her and worked with her are rejoiced that a movement is on foot to create some permanent memorial of her personality and of her work. Her power depended primarily upon her enthusiasm. This infected everyone who came in contact with her, and compelled them to throw themselves heart and soul into the tasks she set them. But beyond her enthusiasm there was her common sense and her wonderful capacity for taking note of every detail. Nothing was too small to be done carefully and thoroughly, but always in relation to the larger issues involved. And, finally, there was her human kindliness. She always insisted that her scheme of rent-collecting by ladies brought people of different classes together in a purely natural relationship, and so tended to destroy class feeling, while getting rid of the unpleasant patronage which is almost indissociable from charity. Seldom in the world's history has one woman, quietly and unobtrusively, effected so much to make her fellow-beings happier, and left behind so permanent an impress of her own personality.

A FELLOW WORKER.

THE STATE AND THE TELEPHONES

1. *Treasury Minutes*, dated May 23, 1892, and May 8, 1899, upon the Proposals for the Development of the Telephone System in the United Kingdom, C. 229, 1892; C. 190, 1899.
2. *Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Telegraphs Bill*, C. 278, 1892.
3. *Memorandum of the Postmaster-General* setting forth Agreements (in draft) with the National Telephone Company, Ltd., and the New Telephone Co., Ltd., C. 267, 1894.
4. *Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons on Telephones*. C. 350, 1895, C. 383, 1898.
5. *Agreement of 18th November 1901* between the Postmaster-General and the National Telephone Company, Ltd., with reference to the Exchange Area of London. C. 25, 1902.
6. *Memorandum of the Postmaster-General*, dated 14th February 1905, setting forth an Agreement dated 2nd February 1905 between the Postmaster-General and the National Telephone Company.
7. *Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Post Office (Telephone Agreement)*. C. 271, 1905.
8. *Annual Reports of the Postmaster-General on the Post Office*.
9. *The British State Telegraphs: Public Ownership and the Telephone in Great Britain*. By H. R. MEYER. Macmillan and Co. 1907.

PRIVATE enterprise in relation to the telephone has had a short but eventful life in this country. In the year 1879 the first Telephone Company was registered. At the end of 1911 the National Telephone Company, which had absorbed all others, went out of business, and its plant of all descriptions—poles, wires, pipes, cables, exchanges, and telephones—was transferred to the State. The magnitude of the undertaking may be gauged by the fact that fifteen months were occupied in making an inventory of the plant, and another twelve months in ascertaining its value. On the 13th of January 1913 the appointed Tribunal of Arbitration (the Railway and Canal Commission) awarded the purchase-money to be paid for the plant transferred,* and with the

* An appeal is pending with reference to the award, but the result will not sensibly postpone the winding up of the Company.

distribution of this sum the work of the Company (which is already in liquidation) will be completed. Thus one generation has seen the introduction, by private capitalists, of a beautiful and startling invention, its general adoption as an accessory of business and social life, and the absorption of invention and enterprise alike by the State. It is seldom that so favourable an opportunity arises of viewing, in an illustrative case, the problems which arise in relation to the development of the arts of life, the conduct of industrial undertakings, and the relation of the State to important collective activities.

It is true that the question whether the telephone should be developed by private enterprise, by municipalities, or by the State has never been an open question. The possession by the Postmaster-General of the monopoly of working telegraphs has been a dominating factor in the consideration of the problem. Ten years—and only ten years—before the telephone appeared in England, Parliament had decided that telegraphic communication would best serve the public convenience if it were conducted by the Postmaster-General. In 1879 the Post Office had only just settled down to the possession and administration of the telegraph. It was at this juncture that the telephone appeared, and it was obvious that a new means of instantaneous communication at a distance might seriously compete with the particular form of that communication which the State had acquired. The State therefore had either to risk the sacrifice of all chance of profit from the telegraph or claim control over the new invention. It decided on the latter course, and the Courts held that the telephone was a telegraph, and that, except with the sanction of the Postmaster-General, talking by means of the telephone was forbidden by the law.*

At this point the position was free from complications. The State being the only body which could lawfully place the telephone at the service of the public, and being entrusted by Parliament with the conduct of all distant communications, it seemed to follow that the State itself should at once do all in its power to give the public the benefit of the new invention. But here arose one of the difficulties of State enterprise.

* There are certain unimportant exceptions to the monopoly of the Postmaster-General.

When a large sum of money has been embarked in plant adapted to a specific purpose the public administration looks with disfavour on a new invention that may lead to the scrapping of that plant at great loss. The same consideration indeed applies to any large private enterprise ; but, while the field is open, competitors with no accumulated plant are willing to risk money in exploiting the new idea on the chance of reaping immediate profits. There is no such inducement to the municipality or the State. The Post Office, working under the control of the Treasury, felt therefore no keen desire to discredit, by planting telephones throughout the country, the recently acquired telegraphs, to the development of which it was assiduously and successfully applying itself. Inborn British distrust of novelty fortified this feeling ; the telephone was viewed by many as a beautiful 'scientific toy' ; it might not stand the wear and tear of practical use ; people might not care to talk to each other through the new-fangled exchanges—they might prefer to send their telegraphic messages on the bits of paper to which they had become accustomed. Let the new invention therefore be exploited by the people who believed in it ; let the State save its money, and merely levy a tax on those who thought they commanded a source of profit. The telephone therefore was legalised. The companies who had introduced it were licensed, and what seemed adequate security for their capital was given to them in a term of thirty-one years ; while the State folded its hands and asked only for ten per cent. upon their receipts.

Such an arrangement was indefensible in principle. Obviously Parliament, in entrusting telegraphic communication to the State, did not intend merely to create a new source of revenue ; its object was to facilitate communication and thereby to stimulate business and oil the wheels of social life. To stand by and merely impose a tax on communication and increase its cost was to defeat the very object of Parliament. The British public cares little about principles ; but happily a course which is indefensible in principle is very apt to lead to friction in practice, and so it proved with the ingenious device of saddling the telephone companies with all expenses and risk, and merely receiving profits, if there were any. Not only would the State take no risk, but it was so jealous for the safety of the telegraph that it forged ingenious fetters for the tele-

phone. Only local communications were licensed within specific areas—country people, it was felt, could not want the telephone ; only large towns would have any use for it ; and there it was to be limited in its operation within circles described from some central point. A resident just outside the privileged area might want a telephone as much as his next door neighbour within the magic ring ; unfortunate ! but it could not be helped ; he must go without. The broad lines laid down by the State for telephonic operations could not be marred by the attempt to meet such accidents as this. After all, a scientific toy could not be of vital importance to anyone. It was only idle curiosity that prompted the suburban desire for a telephone, a feeling which would soon disappear before a firm attitude on the part of the State.

But the telephone turned out to be something very far removed from a scientific toy. It was very speedily recognised as greatly enhancing human powers, facilitating the transaction of business, and bringing into immediate communication friends who would otherwise be kept for hours in ignorance of each other's wishes and movements. The resident outside the town radius was not willing to forgo a convenience in which his next neighbour rejoiced. And naturally the companies which looked for their profit to an extended use of their invention were not slow to foster the new-born device and to point out that they were only prevented from extending the blessings of civilisation by bureaucratic red tape. Mr. Fawcett was at the Post Office—the last man in the world to place barriers in the way of progress or to tolerate any strange limitations of the official mind. He soon found that the telephone was of real value and that he could not withstand reasonable demands for its adaptation to the needs of society. In 1884 therefore—amongst the last acts of his life—he revised the form of licence held by the companies. He abolished all local limits and gave free range to the companies to supply the telephone where and as they pleased, stipulating only that it should not be used in competition with the telegraph for the transmission of written messages. But it was necessary at the same time to guard against another danger which is apt to arise in connexion with large undertakings. Those who introduced the telephone to England did not profess to be philanthropists. They looked to making a profit for themselves and their shareholders.

Nothing therefore would suit them better than to obtain a free hand against the State and at the same time a monopoly against all other inventors. Now there are two ways of dealing with a great private undertaking: either it may be placed under regulations which will protect the public from oppression, or its operations may be left to the check of competition. It is doubtful whether, when Mr. Fawcett revised the licences of the telephone companies, they would have submitted to the regulation of their prices and their mode of conducting business; they had a licence already, and its modification could be a matter of bargain only. On the other hand, there was a fair chance of effectual competition. As is usually the case, more than one inventor was on the track of the telephone when it was brought from America, and it was by no means clear that the group of able business men who had been the first in the field commanded every form of the new apparatus. Mr. Fawcett therefore let the telephone and its sponsors go free, and trusted to competition to ensure satisfactory relations between producer and consumer.

In this instance competition failed. It was vital to the United Telephone Company* and its affiliated organisation to drive competition out of the field; and they spared no pains to accomplish their object. It was claimed by them that the patents of Bell and Edison, which they controlled, covered every other practicable form of telephone. Whenever any independent body attempted to establish an exchange system actions for infringement were commenced, and were brought to trial with success. When it suited the purpose of the allied Companies better, they bought off competition; and meantime they so energetically extended their field of operations that by the time the master-patents ran out, they had made a position which it was difficult to assail. The Government found themselves confronted with a stationary

* This company took its name from the fact that it represented an amalgamation of the two companies which existed when the Government established its monopoly. The United Company worked mainly in the metropolis; but it established connected companies under various names in different parts of the country. Subsequently all these companies were absorbed in the National Telephone Company, which since the early nineties has been alone in the field.

and even dwindling telegraph revenue and a rapidly increasing telephone business in the hands of private monopolists.

This position, as might be expected, was not satisfactory to the public. Complaint was made, that the service was not so good or so cheap as it might be. The companies had at first provided only single wires for their subscribers ; and telephonic talking was much embarrassed by confusion of sounds due to the electrical phenomenon of induction. The Post Office had cured this defect by doubling its wires and so arranging them as to prevent parallelism ; the public demanded that the companies should incur a similar expense. On the other hand, the steps taken by the companies to improve their plant were resented by the great municipalities. Telephones must be connected by wires, and wires must be carried either above-ground on poles or underground in pipes. Two or three accidents from falling wires caused an outcry against an overhead system ; but the substitution of underground work meant the taking up of streets with all the attending inconvenience. The municipalities wanted to know, why their streets should be taken up by a company which neither paid toll for their use nor submitted its charges to any kind of review. They appealed indignantly to the Postmaster-General to grant them licences, and to let them show that they could give their citizens as good a service as the companies at a lower rate.

Before this swelling chorus of dissatisfaction the Government felt bound to reconsider its policy ; but it proceeded by steps. In the first instance it determined to draw a line between a telephone service in towns and a like service between towns—a distinction, oddly enough, which at one time obtained in the post.* It induced the company to negotiate for the sale of its trunk wires, and the surrender of its licence to transact business anywhere outside towns and urban neighbourhoods, or, as they came to be called, exchange areas. Trunk communications in future were to be the exclusive work of the Post Office : a welcome departure from the policy which had taxed communication without moving a finger to facilitate it.

* From the time of Charles II. to the beginning of the nineteenth century the main work of the Post Office was the conduct of the general post between towns ; the London post, originally a private enterprise, was a separate and subsidiary service.

Other features in the changed policy were not so clearly beneficial to the public. The field for private enterprise was closed. No further licences were to be granted except upon the express recommendation of a municipality; and the Postmaster-General undertook to help the company by the exercise of his own wayleave powers to get some at least of its wires placed underground. The new bargain was embodied in an Act passed in 1892, and an agreement which was not finally completed till 1896. The price paid by the State for the company's trunk wires was under half a million.

There can be no doubt that this arrangement stimulated the use of the telephone. The company's revenue doubled in a few years, while the trunk line service, which had previously been confined to the company's *clientèle*, became for the first time a recognised public convenience.

The great municipalities, however, were far from satisfied. They acutely resented the aid given by the Postmaster-General to the company in laying lines beneath their streets, and went so far as to resist (without success) the action of the Post Office in the Courts; and they reiterated the demand that they should be entrusted with the power of supplying their towns with a telephone service. In this campaign Glasgow took the lead. The Government for a time resolutely resisted, and not without reason. Opinions might very well differ as to the comparative advantages of a State service and a service by private enterprise; but it was difficult to see why the municipalities should intrude into a domain of collective activity of set purpose entrusted to the State. So persistent, however, were the demands of Glasgow and a few other big towns, and so great the municipal influence in the House of Commons, that in 1898 the Government decided again to review the position of the telephone, and an important Select Committee was appointed for the purpose. The late Mr. Hanbury, then Secretary to the Treasury, and spokesman for the Post Office in the House of Commons,* was largely responsible for the new departure, and took the chair of the Committee. It soon became evident that Mr. Hanbury was moved by the fear that the Telephone Company (which by this time had assumed the title of National, and was alone in the field) would become so

* The Duke of Norfolk was Postmaster-General.

powerful that it could at the end of its licence dictate terms to the Government, while the public would be at its mercy in respect of conditions of supply. A monopoly in private hands seemed to be looming into sight. Nor, regarded from a national point of view, could the service of the Telephone Company be deemed altogether satisfactory. It had indeed improved its technique and extended its business, but its administration gave rise to many complaints. Having very inadequate way leave powers, it resorted to somewhat arbitrary courses for the construction of its lines. There was no security for uniformity of rates, and the prevalent mode of charge put the telephone out of the reach of the small user. In the words of Mr. Hanbury's Committee, the telephone service in the hands of the company was worked

'on a system and under conditions which confined its benefits to a limited class in selected areas, permitted preferential rates to be charged, and allowed a private licensee of a public monopoly to refuse the use of a business necessity to one tradesman and grant it to his competitor under similar circumstances, imposed no limitation of charges, and left the public at large dependent on a service which was in its turn wholly dependent upon innumerable way-leaves held upon very precarious tenure, and nearly all liable to be terminated after six or twelve months' notice.'

The remedy proposed by the Committee was competition. When the Committee was appointed the particular form of competition contemplated was competition by local authorities; but the evidence tendered and a full consideration of the circumstances convinced the Committee that the most effective competition would be that of the Post Office itself. While recommending that licences should be granted to local authorities, the Committee summed up its conclusions thus:

'On reviewing the whole of the evidence your Committee is strongly of opinion that general immediate and effective competition by either the Post Office or the local authority is necessary, and considers that a really efficient Post Office service affords the best means for securing such competition.'

No suggestion of private competition was made; it must be taken that the Committee thought it impracticable.

The result of the Committee's Report was the passing of the Telegraph Act, 1899, and the establishment of the London Telephone Service of the Post Office. The Act of 1899 enabled

local authorities to use their rates for the purpose of establishing and working a telephone service, and it was apparently expected by the Government that the local authorities would in the provinces supply that competition which the Post Office itself would afford in London.* This expectation was doomed to disappointment. There were many difficulties in the way of a municipal telephone service. In the first place, the use of the telephone is not local in the sense in which the use of water or light, or even traction, is local. Those who use the telephone desire to speak not only to their neighbours but to any business correspondent or social acquaintance, wherever he may be. In the second place the use of the telephone is not so universal as the use of water or gas. Though the employment of the telephone might be with advantage widely extended, it can never be of the same importance to the artisan as to the man or woman with large business or social relations, or to the tradesman with a considerable circle of customers. It is hardly a case, therefore, in which a municipality is justified in pledging its substance and its credit to establish an industrial enterprise. And there are practical difficulties. The telephone takes no notice of local government areas, but only of areas convenient for communication. Take London for example. The county of London is but the nucleus of the London exchange area, which is much larger than even the Greater London of the Registrar-General. But if the central authority undertakes to supply telephonic communication throughout an exchange area, it operates over districts in which it is as much a stranger as any private company ; if it desires to lay an underground line, it must take the same steps to conciliate or coerce the road authority as any private adventurers. Thus the suggestion that a municipality in administering the telephone is acting within its own province where it has special facilities, is found in practice to be to a large extent fallacious. Add to these drawbacks the practical difficulty that in 1899, when the municipalities were first authorised to undertake telephone work, the National Company was already in the field, and had enrolled the majority of the more important citizens amongst its subscribers, and it becomes easy to conjecture why so few

* London is estimated to have represented about one-fifth of the whole business of the National Telephone Company.

local authorities availed themselves of the power which they had clamoured to possess. The Parliamentary Papers show that only thirteen licences were taken up. Of these seven were surrendered, or expired, because on consideration the municipality did not care to embark its capital in an exchange system ; and only six resulted in actual work.

Nor was the company crushed or even cowed in towns where a municipal system was actually established. At Glasgow, where feeling was highest, and where pride in its successful civic undertakings made the Corporation strain every nerve to prove the advantages of a municipal telephone, the company nevertheless held its own. Nowhere within the six areas of municipal competition did the mass of the company's business diminish, though no doubt its expenses may have been increased and its rates lowered.

In London, as we have said, the Government yielded to the strong opinion expressed by Mr. Hanbury's Committee and determined to establish an exchange system of its own. The necessary works were at once commenced, but that neck-and-neck competition which was apparently in the minds of the Committee, and which actually did take place in Glasgow, never came about in London, and for an excellent reason. There is one great drawback to competition in telephones. Every subscriber to a telephone system wants to be able to speak to every other subscriber. If subscribers are divided into two camps between which intercourse is strictly prohibited, one of two things must happen : either the subscribers will not get what they want ; or every subscriber must belong to the two systems, and thus double his expenses. And the agency last in the field is at an immense disadvantage in the race. It can offer a very small group of possible correspondents, compared with the large circle of the older undertaking. Thus the Post Office in London, when all its elaborate apparatus was completed, could offer to subscribers benefits which, for practical purposes, compared unfavourably with those at the command of the company. On the other hand, the Post Office system, being newer, was better equipped than that of the company. Moreover, the company laboured under serious difficulties of construction. In particular with its licence expiring in a few years, and no security for the recoupment of its expenditure, it was not in a good position to raise

capital for new works. Therefore it was safer business for the company to let the Post Office take its share of new work, and to get the benefit, if possible, of some of the costly and valuable apparatus constructed by the Government. The elements of a good bargain existed, and the administrations of the Post Office and the company very naturally struck the bargain. Before a single Post Office exchange was opened it had been arranged that there should be inter-communication between the subscribers to the two systems, that the rates charged should be the same, that where possible the Post Office should help the company in construction, and that at the end of the company's licence the Government should purchase the plant of the company.

The announcement of this bargain was received with a shout of indignation ; but full discussion both without and within the House of Commons resulted in the gradual conviction that it was the best course possible in the circumstances ; and soon after the opening of the present century * London was provided with a double telephone system, the company and the Post Office working side by side in the centre of the metropolis, and more or less arranging spheres of influence in the suburbs. There cannot be a doubt that the modified competition thus instituted was of great benefit to the public. The company was restrained by conditions imposed by the Post Office from some of the practices which had irritated the public and made the telephone unpopular, while it was put on its mettle to hold its own before its wealthy rival. The Post Office had to convince the public that a Government Department could administer a modern invention with the same regard to common sense and the exigencies of practical life as a private company. The company's system steadily grew, while that of the Postmaster-General rapidly ranged into line with it. When at the end of 1911 the company went out of business and its subscribers were taken over by the Post Office, the company possessed about 150,000 telephones in position in London, and the Post Office about 80,000.

The arrangement made in London and its satisfactory results naturally suggested imitation. The position of the

* The P.O. London Service commenced on the 1st of March 1902.

company required strong treatment from those who controlled it. In possession of a flourishing business, paying good dividends to its shareholders, it was nevertheless under sentence of death in a few years. At the end of 1911 its licence expired, and after midnight on the 31st of December it could not lawfully be a party to a single communication through any one of its exchanges. Nor was there any hope of a prolongation of its business life. In 1892, when the claim to such an extension had been advanced, a Committee of the House of Commons had pronounced decisively against it, and since then opinion had strengthened against the company. Notwithstanding the good quality of its work, the feeling was very definite that an important means of communication, and one which depended upon extensive works of construction, should not be in the hands of private monopolists, while on the other hand it was seen that the business did not lend itself to competitive methods. But if the company was shortly to cease business, what was to become of its plant? It had covered the country with a network of poles and wires, and its exchanges were planted, not indeed throughout the rural districts, but in all centres of population. There was no obligation on the Post Office to buy this plant; there was no obligation on the company to sell it. As no one could transact telephone business but the Postmaster-General, there was no purchaser but the State; the plant would become old iron in the hands of the company and possess nothing but a scrap value. But the Post Office, on the other hand, must on the 1st of January 1912 have plant to carry on the telephone business of the country. Two or three millions of persons accustomed to make daily—sometimes hourly—use of the telephone, could not be deprived of that use for a single day. The Post Office was responsible for the telephonic communications of the country; and the alternatives before it were either to acquire the right of using the company's plant at the moment when the company's right to use it ceased, or to construct a duplicate plant which could be brought into use at the very moment when the company's plant went out of use. Apart from practical difficulties which would probably have arisen in securing absolute continuity of service, the duplication of plant, and the sacrifice of poles, wires, pipes, and apparatus which were admitted to be, if not always of the best kind, quite serviceable, would have

shocked moderate opinion as wasteful, and would probably have aroused a feeling for the shareholders of the company which might at the last moment have given rise to some extravagant measure detrimental to the taxpayers of the country. The common-sense arrangement was to buy the plant of the company on fair terms, and Parliament had already pointed out what in such a case fair terms were. When in 1870 it was agreed that if local authorities hereafter wished to possess and control the tramways in their towns they should not be mulcted in unreasonable compensation, an attempt was made, at the instance of Lord Eversley, who was then Secretary of the Board of Trade, to distinguish between goodwill and plant, and to secure that the purchasing authority should pay a fair value, but not more, for the system which private capital had constructed. The form of words used (not very happy in itself) had been construed by the highest legal tribunal, and it was fairly clear that the Post Office might undertake to buy the company's plant at the cost of construction less depreciation, without being launched on the wide sea of compensation allowances, which has well nigh swamped many a public authority purchasing a private undertaking. An agreement of general application on the lines thus indicated was, as it were, pointed out to the parties, and they were not long in accepting the suggestion. In 1905 the Post Office undertook to buy at the end of 1911 all the company's plant (with the exception of such as might be proved to be obsolete or redundant) on what are known as 'tramway terms,' and in the meantime the company's business was to be conducted on conditions which would prevent abuses, and ensure continuity in the telephone service over the critical date of the termination of the company's licence.

This arrangement was submitted to the House of Commons and referred to a Select Committee for consideration. Before this Committee a strong effort was made to show that the terms were too favourable to the company, and further that any agreement of the kind proposed was prejudicial to the conduct of telephone business by municipalities. The movement for the municipalisation of the telephone had, however, by this time nearly spent its force. Only five towns possessed a municipal exchange system, and even the powerful corporation of Glasgow had been unable to beat the company out of the

field. After a careful and somewhat elaborate inquiry the Committee reported that the agreement should be confirmed, with a slight alteration designed to make it quite clear that tramway terms and nothing better were to be applied to the purchase of the company's plant.

This decision was viewed by the local authorities as practically determining that the telephone should be in the hands of the State and relieving them from any necessity to compete further with the company. The corporations of Glasgow and Brighton in the course of 1906 surrendered their licences and sold their plant to the Post Office, and shortly afterwards the corporation of Swansea retired in favour of the company. There remained in business two corporations only, those of Portsmouth and Hull, and the licence enjoyed by Hull ran out at the same time as that of the company. The company, however, by no means considered its life at an end. Assured of a reasonable value for its plant when its licence expired, it did not hesitate to raise further capital and to extend its operations ; and the six years which have passed between the completion of the agreement for purchase and the close of its licence have been amongst the busiest of its existence. It has increased the telephones connected with its system from (roughly) 320,000 to 560,000, and its other plant in proportion. Simultaneously the Post Office has built up a considerable exchange business, more than doubling its subscribers in London and trebling those in the provinces. At the end of 1911, when the company's equipment passed to the Post Office, the State assumed control of over 700,000 telephones employed for local speaking, while the trunk service of the whole country for which it was already responsible in the financial year 1911-12 was the vehicle for more than 33,000,000 conversations.

Such is the history of the telephone as a private undertaking. Two or three facts stand out beyond controversy. In the first place, despite many difficulties private enterprise succeeded in building up a large business, and familiarising the public with the new means of communication. Nevertheless, in spite of the Telephone Company's success as a commercial undertaking, it did not in all respects fully satisfy the public. The best results were achieved when the State and the company co-operated, and at the same time competed, in telephone work.

Lastly, the Government have been able to acquire on reasonable terms all that the company had to sell.

The question whether the State can in England successfully carry on the telephone business of the country has still to be answered. There is a difference between the telephone undertaking and those other undertakings which have hitherto been carried on by the Government—the posts and the telegraphs. The telephone in the view of the Courts is a telegraph, or it would not be in the hands of the Government at all. But the conditions of administration differ. The essence of postal and telegraphic administration is uniformity. Certain facilities are supplied by State machinery, and any subject of the King can take advantage of them at fixed and published rates. No personal relation is involved. To the Postmaster-General and his staff it is absolutely immaterial whether a letter or a telegram is sent by a duke, a multi-millionaire, or a pauper. The penny stamp is affixed, the 6*d.* is paid over the counter, and the service is performed. The Post Office is a machine which works automatically upon the insertion of the necessary coin, the machinery consisting of human beings instead of scales and levers. No elasticity, no personal accommodation is required in the conduct of such a business; uniformity of action and clockwork precision are the ideal to be striven for. That such work can be well done by the Government for the community cannot be doubted. But the telephone cannot be administered quite on the same lines. There must, no doubt, be equality of opportunity to everyone; there must be no respect of persons. But the needs of the community and of classes of the community, even the convenience of individuals, have to be considered, if the full benefit of the telephone is to be enjoyed. The initial fact that a telephone has to be taken to the user, and the user not left to go to the telephone, establishes new and quasi-personal relations. So with the method of payment, not a mere ready-money transaction over the counter but a matter of contract and periodical payment—here again the personal element comes in. These are the mere dry bones of the transaction. In numberless details business requirements and the convenience of the individual have to be considered if the maximum efficiency is to be attained. Adaptation to circumstances enters into the working of the

telephone in a way quite foreign to postal and telegraphic administration.

Now it is just in adaptation to circumstances that bureaucratic administration is likely to fail. Private competitive enterprise has a powerful incentive to adaptability ; its profits depend upon its power to meet the requirements of the individual ; and this knowledge permeates all ranks of its employees and stimulates them to meet difficulties and adjust rules to particular cases. The same motive does not influence a bureaucracy. They provide a system ; they do their best to perfect it ; but the lines once laid down, they have little inclination to modify them to provide for troublesome eccentricities. If the facts do not suit the theory, so much the worse for the facts. And there is some excuse, though not a complete justification, for this attitude. A Government Department works in fierce light. Every rule, every action is open to examination and criticism, and inconsistency is the one charge which it is impossible to defend. The good official is trained to scent inconsistency afar off. He knows by experience that a departure from rule which looks quite harmless and reasonable in itself will be used to justify further departures, and he may eventually find himself in a morass of contradictions which will make an impossible parliamentary situation for his chief. Safety lies in refusing to take the first step, in adherence to the rule, even if it means loss of business.

The question of staff, and the related question of economy of working, present more fundamental difficulties. The Telephone Company paid 10 per cent. of its gross receipts to the Post Office, its loans were raised at 4 and 5 per cent., and it paid a dividend of 5 or 6 per cent. to its shareholders. The Post Office having no royalty to pay, and raising its money on easier terms, ought, one would suppose, either to make a large profit for the taxpayer or to make a sensible reduction in telephone rates. But it has already substantially increased the pay of a large number of the Telephone Company's staff, and it cannot be doubted that its wages bill will permanently stand higher than that of the company for similar work. This is but an illustration of a large and difficult problem, how to reconcile democratic government with the reasonably economic performance of State work. In the organisation of private capitalist enterprise, the governing body—for example, the

directors of a company—and those for whose pecuniary benefit it is carried on—the shareholders—are interested in keeping down wages and salaries so far as is compatible with the maximum of efficiency. If the directors are inclined to be lavish, the fear of the shareholders tends to restrain them. In State enterprise, the administering Department is substituted for directors, the taxpayers take the place of the shareholders, and the members of the House of Commons are their representatives. But, oddly enough, the very persons who might be expected in the name of the taxpayers to ask for economy are the most clamorous for payment of liberal wages. For many years economy has been out of fashion in the House, and raising wages highly popular. Government estimates are not scanned with a view to detecting extravagance; but the minister whose Department pays wages is pelted with questions and appeals directed to higher payment and increased expenditure. The reason is well known. Government employees have votes; they are energetic in the constituencies; while the general body of electors is too little interested in economy to bring any counter-influence to bear upon a candidate. Members are returned, if not pledged to support the claims put before them, at least with the knowledge that to do so will help them in their next contest; and the curious spectacle is presented of the Government striving to keep down expenditure against the efforts of the taxpayers' representatives to raise it. Such a state of things no doubt tends against economy and cheap production, not only directly, but by discouraging those responsible for the conduct of a business from the endeavour to give the public a first-rate article at the lowest rate compatible with fair dealing—the object of all successful competitive private enterprise.

Such are the drawbacks to the conduct of the telephone business by the State. There are facts and considerations to be weighed on the other side. In the first place, as we have said before, the question is not altogether an open one. Parliament deliberately took the telegraphs out of the hands of private companies, and asked the State to administer them. The telephone is in active competition with the telegraph, and to some extent with the post. Short-distance telegrams are being rapidly superseded by telephonic conversations, and short-distance letters are likely by degrees to give place to the

more speedy and fruitful means of communication. Now it is just short-distance telegrams and letters which, in a service administered on the principle of uniform rates, are the most prolific source of profit. To maintain the postal and telegraphic monopoly in the State and to leave the telephone unfettered in private hands would therefore be suicidal, while to tax telephonic communication in the interests of the telegraph is an indefensible form of protection. The wider question whether while administering the postal service (a course in which all civilised countries have concurred) the State should leave both telegraph and telephone in private hands is more debateable. The United States have drawn the line at this point; but no decisive lessons are to be derived from the experiment. There is one great difficulty in leaving either telegraph or telephone to private enterprise. They are services in which competition cannot have full play. As we have said, it is of the essence of a good system that it should be universal. If two competing agencies hold each other at arm's length, neither system gives what is wanted. If they agree to inter-communication the edge is at once taken off the keenness of their competition and they will probably combine. But, if the service is entirely in one hand, a private monopoly is created, an institution which holds the public at its mercy, and tends to become a danger to the State. With the spectacle of the American trusts before them, few persons will be found to defend such a system.

There is perhaps a *tertium quid*—a regulated monopoly. The railway companies of this country may be said to illustrate the possibility. Their charges are limited, and they are not at liberty to deal with traders entirely at their will. But the situation can hardly be said to have reached a state of equilibrium. Traders complain of their treatment on the one side; on the other, railway companies allege that their earning powers are restricted and the shareholders punished; and they intimate that if the State wants to control the railways it should defray the cost of constructing and working them. Moreover, the railway companies do not represent such a monopoly as the telephones would constitute, if in private hands. To a certain extent there is competition between different companies, and where there is no actual competition the example of one company cannot be wholly ignored by other

companies. A dozen big corporations and several smaller are not equivalent in power and irresponsibility to one all-embracing agency. Moreover, most railways in the United Kingdom are liable to competition at numerous points either by sea carriage or by road carriage.

The problem to be solved is how to combine the advantages claimed by the advocates of a State monopoly with the avoidance of the evils above indicated. Possibly the solution will be found in the creation of intermediary bodies such as the London Port Authority, so that the treatment both of customers and of employees may not directly depend on a parliamentary vote. Simultaneously it would be necessary to establish some independent quasi-judicial body, like the Railway Commission, to which could be referred for decision disputed questions of rates of wages. It is the especial interest of the recent acquisition of the telephones by the Postmaster-General that it will bring out the strong and weak points of State management, and act either as a guide or as a warning beacon.

THE DEMAND FOR COMPULSION

1. **Fallacies and Facts.** By Field-Marshal Earl ROBERTS, V.C., K.G. Murray. 1911.
2. **Compulsory Service.** By General Sir IAN HAMILTON. Murray. 1910.
3. **Unionist Policy.** By the Right Hon. F. E. SMITH, K.C., M.P. Williams and Norgate. 1913.

SO far as it is possible to gauge the strength of any political agitation, there seems to be little doubt that the movement for establishing compulsory military training in this country is gaining ground. Several newspapers with more or less emphasis have begun to express favourable opinions, and the triumphant election of Colonel Weston, who openly advocated a mild form of compulsion, shows that the subject is not necessarily fatal to a parliamentary candidate. The campaign has the immense advantage of being led by a man who deservedly commands the respect, and indeed the affection, of all Englishmen. There is no Englishman who could feel unkindly towards Lord Roberts, or who would not be predisposed to regard with favour any proposal that he made. Other people from time to time may be suspected of having axes of their own to grind, but Lord Roberts no man suspects. For half a century he has served his country in the field, and now in the declining years of a long life, when other men would be content to rest, he leads a political campaign and advocates proposals which run counter to the traditions of his countrymen and to the inclinations of many of them. A cause so advocated cannot be lightly dismissed.

The proposal of the National Service League, which Lord Roberts endorses, is that every able-bodied young man shall be compelled at the age of 18 to undergo four months' military training, to be followed in each succeeding year for four years by a compulsory fortnight's training. The men so trained are in no event to be liable to be called upon either to fight across the seas or to suppress civil disturbance. Their sole function is to repel an invasion. In this respect Lord Roberts' compulsory recruits are on the same footing as Lord Haldane's

voluntarily enlisted Territorials. Both bodies are created, in fact or in imagination, for the same purpose—a purpose which, though it may be important, is obviously limited. If any reader will cast his mind back over English history he will find that since the Norman Conquest English soldiers have never once been called upon to repel a serious invasion. All their fighting has been done either across the seas, or in struggles with Scotland or Ireland, or in suppressing civil disturbance. The last serious civil disturbance was the Irish Rebellion of 1798. In the hundred and fifteen years that have since elapsed English soldiers have been constantly fighting. They have fought in Spain and Portugal, in France, in Belgium, in Russia, in the United States, and in Canada; they have fought many times in many parts of South Africa; they have fought in Burma and in India almost incessantly; in China, in Abyssinia, in Somaliland, in Ashanti, in Nigeria, and far away at the antipodes in New Zealand. The list grows interminable, but however much by effort of memory or by research we may lengthen it we shall not find the name of England included. During a century and more English soldiers have been fighting in almost every country of the world except their own. Equally significant is the fact that for more than fifty years there has been organised in this country a fairly considerable body of Volunteers recruited for the sole purpose of defending their homes against invasion; yet the only occasion on which these men have done any fighting at all was in South Africa, six thousand miles away from their homes.

Facts so striking as these can hardly be accidental; and before discussing the relative merits of compulsory and of voluntary enlistment it is desirable to clear the ground by considering whether there is any valid reason for maintaining in these islands a purely home defence force. Curiously enough, Lord Haldane and Lord Roberts, while both starting with the assumption that such a force is necessary, both proceed to throw doubt on this postulate. Lord Haldane's scheme, which professes to be purely territorial, contains provisions for permitting the members of the force to engage themselves for foreign service. In the same way Lord Roberts, while basing most of his arguments on the fear of invasion, states plainly that he wants his force, compulsorily trained on the

exclusive plea of home defence, to serve as an 'enormous 'reservoir' for the expansion of our regular army abroad.* This point is further emphasised by the brilliant but anonymous writer who is responsible for Part II. of Lord Roberts' 'Fallacies 'and Facts.' On page 52 this writer says: 'Nothing short of 'some form of universal service can provide the trained men 'required for home defence or for the necessary expansion in 'war of our forces over-sea.' After this frank avowal that service abroad is as much in his mind as service at home, the writer goes on to discuss how many soldiers we should require to defend the Canadian frontier against the United States, or to defend France against Germany, or Afghanistan against Russia. His figures run up trippingly to a million or more; but he makes it clear that it is for service abroad that these huge numbers are needed.

As regards Lord Haldane's equally mixed attitude, it is permissible to assume that it had its origin in political necessities. When Mr. Haldane, as he then was, went to the War Office, he found in existence a fairly numerous force of Volunteers. This force had its origin in England at a time when not one man in a hundred understood the principles of sea-power, first taught to us by the late Admiral Colomb and his brother Sir John Colomb, and subsequently popularised throughout the world by Captain Mahan. The Volunteers were not the only outcome of England's temporary forgetfulness of the force to which she owes both her Empire and her safety. In the sixties, the seventies, and the eighties of last century, while the navy was neglected, millions were spent on land fortifications. Towards the end of this period of naval neglect our ministers even went so far as to evolve a colossal scheme for the defence of London by means of earthworks on the Surrey Hills. The passion for earthworks had disappeared before Lord Haldane went to the War Office, but the Volunteers survived. He could not ignore them, nor—as he found by parliamentary experience—could he require them to undertake the obligation of service away from home. He therefore compromised and did his best to make them more efficient, hoping that when they had been trained to fight they would not be content to remain at home when there was fighting to

* Fallacies and Facts, p. 21.

be done abroad. It was, however, clearly necessary to provide some logical defence for the creation of a force for a purpose which presupposes that the navy had been so neglected or mismanaged that it could no longer guarantee the country against invasion. Lord Haldane was equal to that task, and evolved the ingenious theory that the mere existence of the Territorial force would compel an enemy who wished to invade us to send so many troops that his transports would be unable to evade the vigilance of our navy. Meanwhile the Territorials would be able to dispose of any small body of troops trying to effect a raid.

This theory is very effectively dealt with by the advocates of compulsory training. They point out that the Territorial force is not even presumed to be fit to take the field until, upon the outbreak of war, it has been embodied and had six months' training. But a force which, according to its own author, is not fit to take the field will hardly affect the plans of a foreign strategist scheming an invasion of England. It is even more certain that a force which is not fit to take the field would not be the force which an English strategist would select to repel a raiding party composed of picked and desperate soldiers.

But while the advocates of compulsory training have little difficulty in making fun of Lord Haldane's inconsistencies, their own arguments suffer from similar defects. They rightly gibe at the idea that a voluntary fifteen days' training can convert civilians into soldiers, but they expect us to believe that a compulsory four months will render the young factory operative or city clerk ready to meet continental soldiers who have had two years' continuous training. Lord Roberts himself is so impressed with the weakness of this argument that he is driven on page 13 to apologise for it in a footnote. He says :

'This mention of four months has, I know, caused profound discontent amongst a considerable number of people, who, while believing with the National Service League that the safety of the nation can only be secured by Universal Service, cavil at the idea that reasonable efficiency can be obtained in so short a period of training. In some cases this belief is so strongly held as to alienate its supporters from taking any active part in upholding and popularising the cause of National Service. I am glad to have this opportunity to explain that the National Service League has no special predilection for this particular period. The League's desire

is to see the *principle* of Universal Service for Home Defence accepted, as it seems to its members that if this great principle once gains the consent of the majority of our countrymen, there will then be no difficulty in adjusting the details of the scheme which will be necessary to reduce theory into practice.'

This note shows that even Lord Roberts has been contaminated by contact with politics. The case put forward by the National Service League is that under their scheme only a very limited amount of training is required. Nothing makes the orators or pen-men of this League more furious than the application of such phrases as 'continental conscription' to their proposals, yet here we learn on the authority of the President of the League that the period of four months has no special value. It is only the bait put forward to entice the unwary fish. When once he is safely hooked on to the principle of compulsory service there will be no difficulty in 'adjusting details,' or, in other words, lengthening the period of compulsion, so as to make the scheme a reality instead of a farce.

For at present it is a farce. The members of the National Service League who 'cavil at the idea that reasonable efficiency 'can be obtained' in four months are perfectly right, and Lord Roberts does not dare to say that they are wrong. As a soldier he of course knows that efficiency is more valuable than numbers, and he frequently says so. He said it in one of his latest speeches, namely at Wolverhampton on the 14th of March: 'Numbers are not enough. Insufficiently 'trained men, however great their numbers, can be of no 'use in war and may be a positive danger.' * He says the same thing many times in his book, and what is even more important, he specifically mentions the period of four months as insufficient. The passage occurs in a footnote on page 27:

'Towards the end of the Franco-German war, 35,000 German soldiers in the south-east of France were opposed by French levies numbering over 140,000 men. These latter had been under a certain military training for the past four months. Within a month nearly 60,000 of them were killed, wounded, prisoners, or missing, while the remaining 80,000 were driven across the Swiss frontier and there interned.'

* Times, March 15, 1913.

Whether this statement be or be not historically accurate, it is remarkably illuminating. It shows that, in the opinion of Lord Roberts, French levies who had had exactly the period of training advocated by the National Service League were unfit to meet one-fourth of their number of German troops. When this is the view of the President of the League, one is justified in saying that whatever the League's ultimate aims may be, its actual scheme is, for the purpose of home defence, effectively no better than the much-abused Territorial scheme. A miss is as good—or as bad—as a mile. To quote Lord Roberts' own dictum: 'However the question is argued ' it comes back to this, that money spent on inefficient land ' forces is money wasted.' *

The anonymous writer who is responsible for Part II. of 'Fallacies and Facts' is as emphatic as Lord Roberts, though less picturesque, in his condemnation of the period of four months as insufficient. On page 150 he gives an account of Professor Spenser Wilkinson's 'reasonable scheme of National 'Service.' This scheme 'starts on a basis of *one year's service* 'beginning at the age of 20 for the infantry and field artillery, 'and *two years* for cavalry and artillery.' But what is the comment of the anonymous contributor to 'Fallacies and 'Facts'? He says:

'The shortness of the training given under Professor Wilkinson's scheme is no doubt a disadvantage, if his National Army is to be pitted against continental troops with two years' training. But good training and leadership can do much, and at any rate the numbers provided by the scheme would be ample.' †

When this is what one of the ablest defenders of the National Service League says of a period of one year's training, one can clearly conjecture what he thinks of a period of four months.

In passing it may be noticed that while Lord Roberts is emphatic that mere numbers cannot make up for inefficiency, his anonymous colleague tries to console himself with the thought that 'at any rate the numbers would be ample.' To complete the tale of these contradictions it is only necessary to add that this writer who on page 151, in the passage quoted, regrets the insufficiency of twelve months' training, on page 155

* Fallacies and Facts, p. 28.

† Ibid. p. 151.

claims that the National Service League's four months would 'provide a force adequate for home defence.' The only possible conclusion from this flagrant contradiction is that the writer, whoever he may be, does not in his heart believe that any force is needed for purely home defence.

What he is really out for, as he makes clear later on, is the creation of a great army for over-sea service, capable of fighting on equal terms with continental armies. It is for the sake of this army that he demands compulsion. On page 157 the proposition is set down in black and white. Speaking of securing a sufficient number of recruits under the voluntary system for his great expeditionary force, he says :

'This difficulty is diminished enormously by the introduction of the principle of National Service, even if only for home defence. When the question for the individual is no longer merely one between serving and not serving, but between having to serve for four or six months without pay, or at the very outside for a gratuity of sixpence a day, and serving a year for a shilling a day with reserve pay to follow, the whole situation is altered. While service would only be compulsory for unpaid home defence, yet the existence of that compulsion would be a most effective inducement to enlistment in the paid regular service.'

In other words, we are to use the plea of home defence to persuade the people of this country into accepting the principle of compulsion, and then employ the compulsion, indirectly, to building up a great army for over-sea service. That is not quite straightforward ; but political methods seldom are. Nor is it necessarily a crime, though Little Englanders may think it so, to wish to expand our military power abroad. The question is one of degree, of the balance of our national interests and ambitions against the risks run and the costs involved.

But since, in the prosecution of their campaign for expanding our military power, the members of the National Service League persistently play upon the fear of invasion, it is necessary, before considering their real objective, to dispose of these flank arguments with which they mask their advance. And at the outset it is desirable to be clear about the meaning of a particular figure which has occupied much space in this controversy—namely the figure 70,000. By the advocates of compulsory training this figure is habitually treated as if it were the official estimate of the outside limit of the invading

force. Thus Mr. F. E. Smith in his volume on 'Unionist Policy' says:

'Indeed, with a really miraculous foresight they (the Government) can fix the limits of the invading numbers down to a single rifle. We may be invaded, but the invaders are not to be allowed to bring more than 70,000 men! . . . As a matter of fact, this official number is not accepted by such authorities as the 'Times' military correspondent, who is now so much in favour with the Liberal Party. The military correspondent of the 'Times' places our potential invaders as high as 150,000. This is more than double the official figure.'

If Mr. F. E. Smith had followed the beginnings of the controversy a little more closely, he would have known that this figure has a totally different meaning from that which he assigns to it. The figure had its origin in the famous speech on national defence made by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons on the 11th of May 1905. What Mr. Balfour then said was summarised and endorsed by Mr. Haldane on the 6th of March 1906 in the following words:

'That on the hypothesis of the worst possible moment of our military position, and on the calculation of Lord Roberts accepted by other military critics, it would not be possible to attempt an invasion of our island with less than 70,000 men.'

In other words, so far from the official calculation being, as Mr. F. E. Smith imagines, that the invader could not come with *more* than 70,000 men, the official view is that he could not come with *less*. This calculation, for which apparently Lord Roberts himself was originally responsible, is based, it will be noticed, on purely military considerations. It means that, even when we were supposed to be completely denuded of troops during the South African war, we still had enough remnants available to compel an invader to come with at least 70,000 men if he wished to succeed.

That is the soldier's view; but we must also ask, what is the sailor's? for the invasion of an island is obviously a naval as well as a military problem. The answer is to be found in the Report of the Duke of Norfolk's Commission on the Militia and Volunteers (Cd. 2061, pp. 3, 4), where it is stated that the Commission was informed that the view of the Admiralty was 'that the navy can guarantee the complete protection of the United Kingdom against the danger of invasion by any larger

'force than 5000 to 10,000 men.' Thus on the one hand the soldiers say the invader must come with at least 70,000 men, and on the other hand the sailors say if he comes with more than 10,000 he cannot slip past our naval guard. If both these authoritative opinions are well founded there is clearly no need for any further worry.

The members of the National Service League are therefore driven back upon the necessity of either ignoring or disputing the opinions expressed by the naval authorities. This they cheerfully do. They constantly assert that the navy might be decoyed away, or might be temporarily defeated, or that its services might be required to defend Australia, or that in a few years' time it will be quite incapable of meeting the fleets which Germany and her allies will possess. The mere civilian would imagine that all these gloomy forebodings were a prelude to a demand for an increased naval programme. But no! They are the arguments by which the National Service League supports the demand for a powerful home defence army.

The mischief wrought by this kind of reasoning can best be illustrated by an analogy which should appeal to military men. Suppose a distinguished general to be entrusted with the defence of a fortified city which contained all the principal arsenals and the brain-centre of the nation. And suppose that he said to himself: 'I am doubtful whether the fortifications will suffice to keep out the enemy, therefore I will organise a civilian force to shoot down the assailants when they get past the fortifications and into the streets and squares of the city.' What would Lord Roberts say of such a general? Yet the analogy is complete. Our fortified city is Great Britain herself, and her fortifications are her battleships. If they are insufficient, they must be made sufficient. To spend money, or energy, or patriotic eloquence on the creation of any kind of internal defence so long as the external defence remains inadequate is a crime against the nation. Whatever the cost may be, the navy must be made strong enough to do its work, and until it is strong enough not a penny ought to be spent either on soldiers or even on social reform.

For the navy not merely protects us against invasion: it also secures our means of livelihood. England is a great workshop with raw materials coming in every day in unceasing

flow, and manufactured goods going out. If this double stream is interrupted our industries will be brought to a stand-still and our people will starve for want of work. Our sea-borne commerce is in very truth part of the life-blood of the nation. Of the magnitude of this commerce some idea may be gained by the following figures showing the imports and exports (including re-exports) from our principal east coast ports in the year 1911 :

London :

Imports	.	.	.	.	£230,000,000
Exports	.	.	.	.	£138,000,000

Hull :

Imports	.	.	.	.	£41,000,000
Exports	.	.	.	.	£30,000,000

Harwich :

Imports	.	.	.	.	£22,000,000
Exports	.	.	.	.	£8,000,000

Newcastle and N. and S. Shields :

Imports	.	.	.	.	£10,000,000
Exports	.	.	.	.	£10,000,000

To protect this vast volume of trade is a far more serious naval problem than the protection of our coasts from invasion. For our out-going and in-coming ships must be free from attack not merely when they are leaving our harbours, but when they are following their accustomed routes across the high seas. That is the final reason why England is compelled to claim the mastery of the sea. This well-worn but vitally important phrase means that in time of war England claims that the high seas are her territory, and that the enemy's coast-line is her frontier. To prevent the enemy crossing that frontier is the business of England's navy. Curiously enough, this primary rule of English naval strategy seems never to be understood by the military men who dream of invasion. They are for ever talking about our fleet being tied to our coast, and seem to form a mental picture of the Royal Navy anchored in detachments off Harwich, Dover, and Hull. It is not our coast but the enemy's coast that our ships would be watching, and provided that watch is complete the ships that bear our commerce will be able to voyage in safety. But if our naval watch over the enemy's coast-line is so com-

plete that no battle-ship or cruiser can creep out, *a fortiori* it will be impossible for a great armada of transports to issue from the enemy's ports and steam across our territory, the open sea.

Doubtless there will always be some danger of some small fraction of the enemy's naval force evading the vigilance of our fleets, and scouring the seas to prey upon our commerce. For that reason among others we maintain fast cruisers whose business it would be to hunt down these possible commerce-destroyers. Again, it is possible, though the possibility is far more remote, that a fast ship filled with daring men ready to risk their lives on a great chance, might slip through the blockading line and make a dash for our coasts in the hope of damaging one of our naval stations. As a precaution against this danger our coast-line is guarded with submarines and torpedo boats, and our naval stations are defended by a sufficient military force to repel a raid.

The only answer made by the National Service League to these arguments is to assume that the navy is not strong enough to discharge the duties entrusted to it. But if that be so, surely our first business is to make the navy sufficient for its task. For if the navy is strong enough to guard our true naval frontier, the enemy's coast-line, we are safe all round. Our commerce is safe, and our coasts are safe, and we are free to send our troops across the seas wherever their services are needed. On the other hand, if the navy cannot undertake this primary duty we are helpless. Our army, which perhaps at the moment ought to be fighting in India or Egypt, would be tied to its home stations, unable to move lest the transports should be sunk by the enemy's cruisers ; and our commerce would be carried on in imminent daily peril of the loss of valuable ships and cargoes. Against these dangers no home-defence army could be of the slightest value to us. Nor would a home-defence army even be wanted to repel an invasion ; for if, through lack of mastery of the sea, we were unable to send troops abroad, all our home-stationed regulars, with their reserves, would be here with nothing else to do than to look out for invaders. It would be poor comfort in such circumstances to watch civilian troops drilling on the parade ground, while owing solely to the deficiency of our naval force our over-sea possessions were being captured

for want of a few ships and soldiers to defend them, and our commerce was being carried on at such ruinous cost that half our factories had to close.

Thus, even if a home-defence army were cheap and naval defence were dear, it would be madness for England with her sea-borne commerce and her sea-scattered possessions to attempt to make good naval deficiencies by means of land forces. But, as a matter of fact, a home-defence army on the scale proposed by the National Service League would be a very costly luxury. The actual cost is difficult to estimate. The National Service League makes detailed calculations showing that the cost would be roughly £4,000,000 a year in addition to what we are now paying. The War Office puts the additional cost at £8,000,000 a year. Neither calculation takes any account of the expense imposed upon industrial undertakings by the simultaneous withdrawal of a large number of employees. This would be a very important part of the total cost to the nation, though by the nature of the case it cannot be precisely estimated. Let us, however, take the figure of £4,000,000 given by the National Service League, and assume that this is the whole cost.*

In return for this expenditure we are to obtain an army of men, enlisted on such terms that they can never be called upon to fight their country's battles across the sea, and trained for so brief a period that they would be unfit to meet an invading force of continental troops. Suppose instead that we spent the same sum annually upon the navy, what should we get ?

* It is interesting to compare this estimate with the actual cost of the Swiss military system, which is often held up as the model to be followed by England. In 1907 a party of English members of Parliament visited Switzerland under the auspices of the National Service League to witness the Swiss military manœuvres and glean information generally. The party, among other experiences, had the pleasure of hearing a lecture by Colonel Delmé-Radcliffe, the British military attaché, who dealt with the financial as well as with the military side of the subject. His calculations were as follows : the armed force of Switzerland is about one-eleventh of the population ; in time of war the force liable to be called out would be about one-sixth ; the net cost of the Swiss army after deducting payments made by those who are rejected for service was then £1,482,000 ; the proportional cost for the United Kingdom would be £19,500,000.

In 1909, in answer to a question in the House of Commons, the Admiralty stated that the annual cost of a first-class battleship in full commission was £231,000 a year. This figure includes interest on capital, and depreciation, as well as the wages of officers and men and all other annual charges for upkeep. The life of the ship was taken at twenty years, which is perhaps unduly long, though it was then the German assumption. Battleships are also more expensive in 1913 even than they were in 1909. Therefore to be on the safe side let us increase this figure by 20 per cent., bringing it up to £277,000. Comparing this with the sum of £4,000,000, it will be seen that the National Service army, tied to the soil and unfit to meet continental troops, is the approximate financial equivalent of *fifteen super-Dreadnoughts in full commission*, capable of going anywhere and ready to meet any foe. Can it be doubted which is the more profitable form of expenditure for the British Isles and for the British Empire?

It may be added that if we take the War Office estimate of expenditure, the National Service League army would cost as much as thirty super-Dreadnoughts in full commission.

There is one further hypothesis which ought to be considered, not because it is even plausible but because it is put forward by the advocates of compulsory military training. Some of the writers on this subject suggest that there is a possibility that while our fleet is engaged in another part of the globe, and our regular soldiers are fighting across the seas, Germany, without warning and without declaring war, might secretly collect a powerful invading force and send it rapidly across the North Sea in Atlantic liners; and then where should we be?

The first answer is that our battle-fleet is only our first line of naval defence. Its business is to guard the high seas, and therefore it is conceivable that this fleet might be absent from the North Sea, or present in insufficient force, at a time when no danger was anticipated from Germany. But we have a second line, consisting of submarines and torpedo boats and torpedo destroyers stationed all along our eastern and southern coast. The business of these vessels is to guard our own coasts, and as long as that guard remains unbroken it is impossible for an enemy to land troops. If that guard is insufficient, we can at very trifling expense

make it stronger. To do aught else would be madness. For suppose the enemy, in the assumed absence of our first naval line, did break our second line, and did effect a landing, we should, if our regular soldiers were also absent, be powerless. For according to hypothesis the invasion is to be a surprise—a bolt from the blue—and the invaders would have done their worst before our supposed home defenders could be summoned from factory and counter and desk and put in the field. For this reason a civilian force is absolutely useless as a protection against a raid. We must retain in this country a small number of highly trained regulars, always under arms, to garrison naval stations and also to act as a mobile force to deal with the remote contingency of an unexpected raid by a force which had succeeded in evading both our first and second naval lines. No sane Government would ever entrust to a civilian army the duty of providing a garrison for Portsmouth or Chatham. Nor are these various considerations in the least degree affected by the prospective peril from aircraft. Whatever plans it may be necessary to adopt to meet this new danger, it is quite certain that insufficiently trained civilian foot soldiers will play no part in the scheme.

We shall therefore do wisely to put on one side all this talk of a Home Defence Army. If ever England begins to trust to land forces to defend these islands from invasion her doom is sealed.

Instinctively the advocates of compulsory military training feel this, for, as already shown, they constantly lay stress on the need for creating a larger expeditionary force for over-sea fighting. That is a much more reasonable proposition; but it is necessary first to know how large this force ought to be, and secondly to consider whether it cannot be better recruited by voluntary enlistment than by compulsion, direct or indirect.

With regard to the first point, the present position is that the size of our expeditionary force is determined by the size of our garrisons in India and other dependencies and colonies. Each battalion abroad has its linked battalion at home, and the home battalions with their reserves constitute the expeditionary force. This plan has been criticised on the ground that the purposes for which we require an expeditionary force have no necessary relation to the purposes for which

we require garrisons abroad, and therefore it is unscientific to make the one depend on the other. That would be an overwhelming argument if we set out to be a great military Power. But we do not. The vast majority of Englishmen realise that as long as we are supreme at sea we must be content to be inferior on land. To aim at rivalling the land forces of continental Powers, while insisting that they must not rival us at sea, would be to establish an intolerable European situation, while imposing upon us a burden in money and men which would soon outstrip our resources.

There is therefore nothing essentially unreasonable in the present plan. We begin with the proposition that we must have the command of the sea, and rather than lose it we will cheerfully spend, as Cobden said, even £100,000,000. Secondly, we must maintain a considerable body of troops abroad to garrison our possessions and dependencies, and these troops must be fed either from depots or from linked battalions stationed at home. These in turn have their reserves available on mobilisation. The whole of this system is devised to maintain our overseas Empire, and to be ready for the constant little wars which the maintenance of a great Empire involves. Incidentally the system gives us an exceptionally well trained body of about 150,000 men who in the event of a great European struggle could be thrown—together with the weight of our supreme navy—into one or other of the scales of the balance. That is sufficient to make our friendship desired and our enmity feared, and there is little to be gained and perhaps much to be lost by aiming at more.

But suppose it is decided that we want more, surely then the obvious course is so to improve the conditions of service in our voluntary army that we shall get as many more men as we want. It is sometimes said that we have reached the limit of recruiting, but that can only mean under present conditions of service. If the army were made as attractive as the civil service there would be no difficulty in obtaining recruits. One very obvious reform is to link the two services together, so that service in the army should give a preferential claim to civil service appointments. If every young man knew that by entering the army he could be sure after seven years, provided his character was good, of obtaining a billet for life, the recruiting problem would solve itself.

Nor does this suggestion exhaust the possibilities before us. As the Volunteer movement conclusively proves, there are in Great Britain a large number of men who like soldiering as a pastime. Provided the cost is not excessive, it is well to encourage them, though it is regrettable that, in the case of Lord Haldane's Territorials, the encouragement should take the form of pretending that they are helping to defend their homes against invasion. The only excuse for this pretence is that in time of emergency the fiction will be forgotten, and most of the men will give play to their soldierly spirit by offering to fight in whatever part of the world England needs them. But it is unwise to feed grown men upon fiction, and we should do well to abandon the hypocrisy of home defence, and to give a moderate annual grant to every adequately trained man who undertook to serve abroad in case of war. It would be reasonable also to make a grant to the employers of such men on condition that the employee was given an adequate yearly holiday for camp training.

These are merely suggestions by the way. The important point is that the nation can get all the soldiers it wants if it is willing to pay for them. The demand for compulsion which is preached as a patriotic crusade has, if it be analysed, a distinctly unpatriotic side. In all countries where compulsory service exists, the wages paid to soldiers are miserably low compared with those which are paid to British soldiers. In France the nominal payment is only a halfpenny a day, in Germany $2\frac{1}{2}d.$, as compared with $1s. 2d.$ here. The proposals of the National Service League are based on the same principle. They provide that the men undergoing compulsory training should receive no pay at all or very little. That means that the taxpayer will be *pro tanto* relieved. Yet it so happens that while all the advocates of compulsory training are taxpayers, none of them would be personally affected by the compulsion which they propose to inflict upon younger men. It would be unfair to suggest that this consideration determines their action, but unless they wish to have this suggestion flung in their teeth they would be wise to abstain from suggesting that the opponents of compulsory training are unpatriotic.

The truth is that the only form of compulsion which can be universal is the compulsion to pay taxes. The compulsion advocated by the National Service League is not to apply to

any man who has already passed the age of eighteen ; it is not to apply to any woman ; and according to the calculations of the League it would only affect about half of the young men who each year reach the age of eighteen. To apply the epithet 'universal' to such a system is an abuse of the English language.

There is this further grave objection to compulsory service of any kind, that compulsion means much greater hardship to one man than to another. This consideration applies not only to military service but to any form of *corvée*. Personal temperament, family embarrassments, professional exigencies, even geographical situation, all affect the problem for each individual, with the result that a service which to one man may be convenient and agreeable is to another man intensely inconvenient and in extreme cases almost intolerable. On the other hand taxation—if we have the wisdom to observe the canons laid down by Adam Smith—can be made to press with approximately equal severity on every member of the community. Therefore the fairest way of providing for national defence is to compel all citizens to contribute money in proportion to their means, and to employ that money for the remuneration of those men who voluntarily undertake a military career. On these lines the nation—if it is willing to pay adequately—can obtain as many men as it wants for the period for which it wants them, and such men will make far better soldiers than men forced against their will to undertake a service which is inconvenient or repugnant to them. Doubtless if we were only separated by a land frontier from a great military Power, we should be obliged to ignore these considerations of equity, and to compel every man to give personal service—*salus reipublicae suprema lex*. But there is no reason why we should wantonly throw away the advantages conferred upon us by our insular position, which enables us to ignore the magnitude of the armies maintained by our neighbours, provided only we are careful to preserve beyond question our naval supremacy.

As long as that proviso is secured—and if it fails all is lost—England only requires military service from relatively few of her sons. It is therefore in the highest degree mischievous to speak as if military service were the only national service. On this theory all those who have passed the age for

military service, including most of the active members of the National Service League itself, are mere drones doing nothing to serve the nation to which they belong.

There remains the argument that compulsory military training would be good for the physique of the nation. The argument is derived from observation of the improvement effected in weedy boys after they have been for some months enlisted in the army and have been well fed, compelled to keep regular hours, and put through a course of physical training. Such an experience might be good for all of us, but the very people who would most benefit, namely the natural weaklings, would be just those whom the military authorities would neglect. If the improvement of our national physique is the object in view, the right course is to begin in the schools and make physical as well as mental training compulsory. On its merits this would be an excellent course to pursue. Probably a good deal of mischief has already been done to the race by attempting to develop the minds of children whose bodies are unprepared for the strain involved. Much good would certainly accrue if schools, both elementary and secondary, were to devote to physical training a substantial slice from the time now devoted to book learning. Specially is this important in great towns, where in consequence of the lack of space boys and girls have no opportunity for the natural training afforded by voluntary games. By this means we should greatly improve the material from which our army and navy are fed, while building up an all-round stronger and healthier race.

THE EDITOR.

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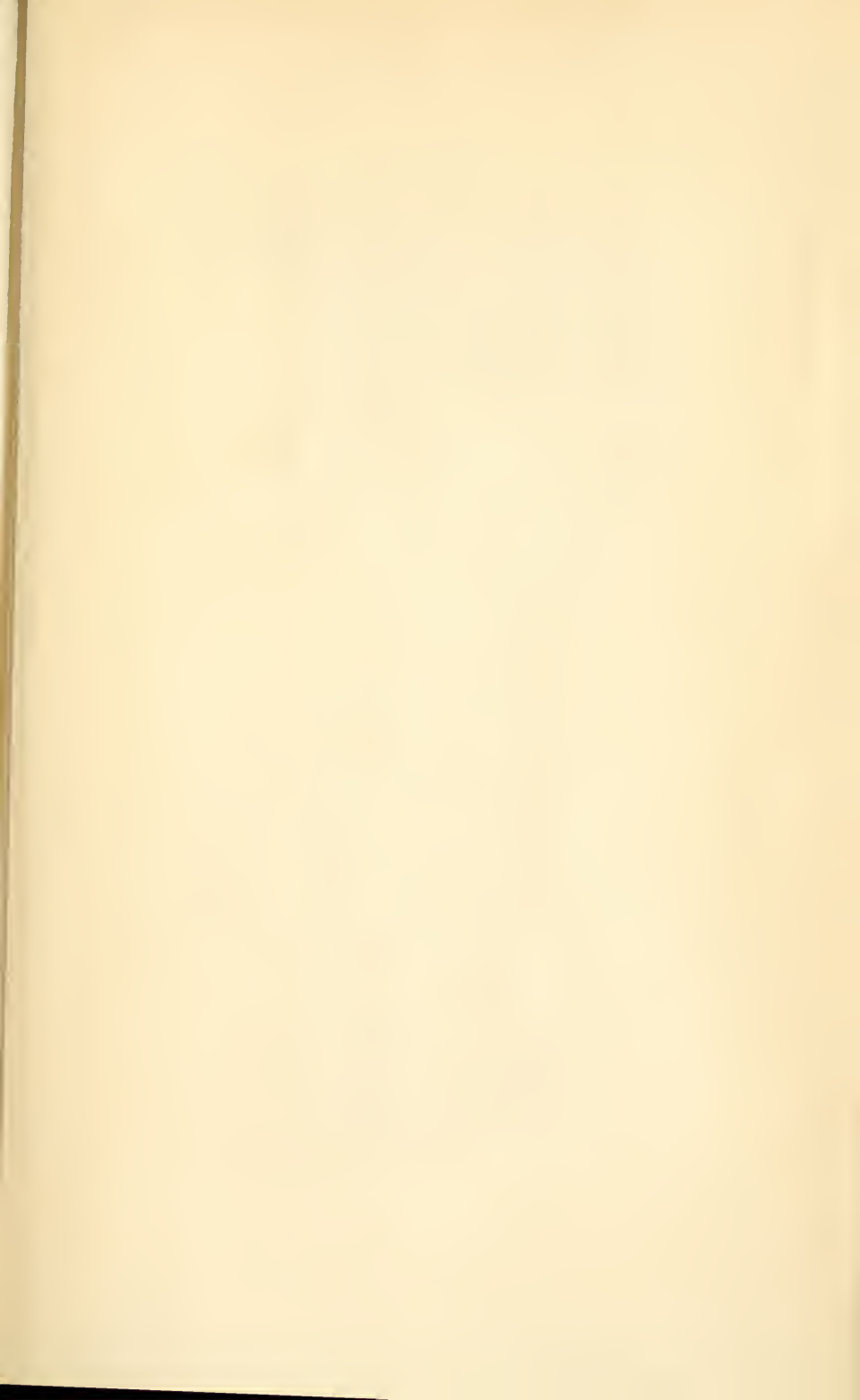
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